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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 460



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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

PRC'S YANG XIANZHEN DISCUSSES PARTY SPIRIT

HK290546 Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 16 Aug 83 p 2

["Interview With Comrade Yang Xianzhen: A Talk on Party Spirit"]

[Text] A splendidly and simply designed and bound book lies before us:

"On Party Spirit," by Yang Xianzhen

Speaking of our Revered Comrade Yang, everybody knows that he is a noted Marxist theorist of our party and a veteran party member who joined the CPC during the period of the great revolution in China, and now is a member of the CPC Central Advisory Commission and an adviser to the Central Party School. Of his career of 57 years as a party member, our Revered Comrade Yang has spent 43 years at the fighting posts of theoretical research and of party school education. This book is one of the theoretical achievements of hard work throughout his life.

The "gang of four" repudiated "How To Be A Good Communist" and, as a consequence, "Party Spirit" was covered with a heavy layer of dust. Party spirit, a concept vital to communists, is becoming faint in the minds of some comrades. One day in early July, Comrade Yang Xianzhen, at age 87, gave a lecture in the Central Party School to more than 1,000 students who had come from all corners of the country, the subject of his lecture being the strengthening of party spirit. The lecture lasted for 2 and 1/2 hours. Many comrades felt suddenly enlightened as if the deaf were roused and the unhearing were awakened. After the lecture, we paid our revered Comrade Yang a visit.

Upon hearing our purpose in coming, he put aside the work at hand and asked his secretary to bring him the book "On Party Spirit." Our conversation started with this book.

Adherence to Materialism is the Demand of Party Spirit

Reminiscing, our revered Comrade Yang said: "It was in 1942 when I began to give lectures on party spirit; which is covered by the chapter "What is Called Party Spirit" in this book. In January 1940, I was assigned to work in the northern bureau of the CPC Central Committee and, at the same time, I taught in a party school. At that time, we often heard the remark of "building up party spirit." What was called party spirit at that time? There was a vast

difference in our understanding of this question. It was said that when a student of a party school swept the floor clean and folded up his quilt neatly after he got up early in the morning every day, he would be labeled as having "built up party spirit." While on the move, there were horses available for people on the sicklist, however, they were not in a position to ride them, and if they did ride the horses, the grooms would say: 'Comrades, you must build up party spirit!' People's understanding of party spirit and of the building up of party spirit was thus vulgarized, oversimplified, and very superficial."

On the question of the understanding party of spirit, it was Comrade Mao Zedong's article 'Reform Our Study,' written in May 1941, that greatly inspired me. This article said: 'The subjective method, which is contrary to science and Marxism-Leninism, is a formidable enemy of the Communist Party, the working class, the people and the nation. It is a manifestation of impurity in party spirit.' The article maintained that only when subjectivism is overthrown can party spirit be strengthened. The absence of the Marxist-Leninist approach of uniting theory with practice means that party spirit is either absent or deficient. The understanding of party spirit was thus raised to the high plane of Marxist philosophy, of Marxist ideological line and Marxist methods of thinking, and of the unity of theory and practice." "Materialism means party spirit. Subjectivism means absence of party spirit." Our Revered Comrade Yang has repeatedly stressed this view. He said: "Lenin said 'Materialism itself involves the party spirit we always uphold and requires that in making any appraisal of events, it is necessary, at any time, to keep to the stand of a certain social group frankly and openly.' We are communists and members of a proletarian party. In understanding, analyzing and handling any problem at any time and under any circumstance, we must master and apply the world outlook and methodology of dialectical materialism and directly and openly take the stand of the Proletariat and of the masses of people. Only in this way can we prove ourselves to be qualified party members who have party spirit. Seeking truth from facts and closely linking theory with practice are the minimum approach of a communist with strong party spirit. As far as members of a Communist Party are concerned, only when they acquire the world outlook of dialectical materialism and master the Marxist methods of thinking, can they develop their devotion to the communist cause to the fullest extent."

Our Revered Comrade Yang said: "The purpose of raising our understanding of party spirit to the high plane of dialectical materialism and historical materialism is precisely to improve the quality of party members. Only when we approach party spirit in this way, can we really improve the quality of party members." He said: The lessons from the 10 years of internal disorder and such tendencies in our present work as subjectivism, doing things in an oversimplified and mechanical way, formulism, formalism and liberalism are the result of our failure to make a concrete analysis of concrete conditions and of our lack of a scientific approach of dialectical materialism. We must raise our understanding of the ideological line formulated by the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and the principles worked out by the "12th CPC National Congress" to this height and enhance the level of political consciousness of every party member in implementing the line and principles in terms of party spirit. This is the most concentrated expression of party spirit.

Our Revered Comrade Yang said: The recently published "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" is the record of the tit-for-tat struggle which Comrade Xiaoping waged against the "gang of four" and of struggles he waged to reaffirm the Marxist ideological, political and organizational lines and is an embodiment of Comrade Xiaoping's strong Marxist party spirit and, therefore, a good teaching material for us to strengthen our party spirit, to make a success of party building and to rectify our party style. Comrade Xiaoping, who has a dauntless spirit of a thoroughgoing materialist, is a good model for us to learn from. We must seriously study the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" and truly build our party into a strong force at the core leading the socialist modernization program.

As Far As Party Members Are Concerned, Individualism Acts as a "Cancer" in Their Minds

"Methods of thinking are governed by ideology. Hence, a party member must strengthen his own party spirit in terms of methods of thinking and of ideology. In this way we can have a relatively comprehensive understanding of the strengthening of party spirit." This is a clear-cut view of our Revered Comrade Yang which has consistently run through the reports he made in the Central Party School and in his book "On Party Spirit."

Our revered Comrade Yang said: "Being a party member, one must persistently effect the two 'radical ruptures' advanced in the 'manifesto of the Communist Party'; that is, effect the most radical rupture with traditional property relations and with traditional ideas." When we stated to our revered Comrade Yang that by making use of these "two ruptures," the "gang of four" pushed the "leftist" errors Comrade Mao Zedong committed in his later years to extremes and smeared the prestige of this slogan among the masses of party members, he said: At that time he was put into prison and "was cut off from the outside world" for a full 8 years. It was imaginable that the "gang of four" had done this. However, this cannot in the slightest degree detract from the glory of truth. What we struggle for all our lives as party members is to effect the task of "two ruptures." If the "two ruptures" are discarded, there will no longer be any talk about party spirit. Nearly 30 years have passed since China basically completed the socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production and basically realized the public ownership of the means of production. As party members, we must consider whether or not our thinking has broken with "graditional ideas" and to what extent it has done so. If old ideas and concepts seal our minds and bind us hand and foot, it is very difficult to manage to seek truth from facts, and emancipate our minds and also very difficult to strengthen our party spirit in terms of ideology.

Along with this topic of conversation, our revered Comrade Yang further raised the question of "the principal contradiction of members of a Communist Party." He said: "The theoretical circles in China have discussed the question of the principal contradiction of a socialist society. I suggest we ponder what is the principal contradiction is the one between individualism or egoism and communist ideology."

With sincere words and earnest wishes, our revered Comrade Yang said: "We must seriously deal with individualism which acts [as] a cancer in the minds of party

members. If we are not resolved to overcome it, it will inevitably swell viciously and eventually destroy us." He also said: "since the party spirit of party members is the highest expression of the class nature of proletarians, it is as incompatible with individualism, selfishness, and the mentality of seeking fame and position as fire is to water. Members of a Communist Party must not have a private ownership mentality and not attempt to legalize individualism. Why have you voluntarily applied for party membership? We must check whether communist ideology or individualism to occupy the principal aspect of a contradiction in their minds and if they just look forward to making more money, then they can hardly be considered as qualified party members with party spirit."

Talking about the relationship between strengthening party spirit and implementing present policies, our revered Comrade Yang said: "As for this question, Comrade Mao Zedong commented clearly long ago in his "on coalition government." Even when implementing various democratic revolutionary policies during the period of new democratic revolution, we still stressed conducting education in the communist world outlook among all party members, let alone during the period of socialism! During the period of democratic revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong repeatedly called on all comrades in the party to carry forward the spirit of serving the people wholeheartedly and criticized the mentality of "thinking of oneself before others at every turn." How can we imagine that during the period of socialism, as far as communists are concerned, individualism can, on the contrary, become legal? A comrade with pure accomplishment in party spirit surely can, under the guidance of communist ideology, consciously and firmly implement the party's policies at the present stage in various aspects of endeavors and fulfill the present tasks regardless of his own well-being.

Members of the Communist Party Must Have the Political Consciousness That is Required by the Times

"Members of the Communist Party must have the political consciousness that is required by the times." This is another question which our revered Comrade Yang put emphasis on while expounding the strengthening of party spirit in terms of ideology.

Reminiscing, our revered Comrade Yang said: In the early days of the founding of the CPC, in recruiting new party members from among the workers, peasants and the masses of laboring people, the first thing we stuck to was to arouse their class consciousness or class awareness. He said: "Consciousness or awareness is generally interpreted as the ability to discriminate the environment in accordance with Marxist standpoint. For example, a landlord is a human being and so is a peasant. If one fails to make a distinction between that fact that landlords are the exploiters and that peasants are the exploited, he is said not to become class-conscious. If a peasant can tell the difference landlords, on the one hand, and poor peasants and farm laborers on the other hand, or if a worker can tell the difference between capitalists and proletarians, he is already considered as having class consciousness or class awareness. As a member of the Communist Party, where does his consciousness or political awareness which is required by the times find expression nowadays? It must find expression in the fact that he can consciously understand that the era in which he lives in is an era of socialism and realize that the society where he lives

It is a socialist society based on the system of public ownership. All people who are living in a society under the socialist system of public ownership, communists in particular, should have an outlook on life and the world which are characterized by fighting all their lives for socialist revolution and construction, and have a mentality and ideas commensurate with the public ownership system."

Then our revered Comrade Yang recalled a past event: "In 1940, the northern bureau of the CPC Central Committee sent people to the Shanxi-Chahar-Hebei border region to discuss a question: 'Has the nature of society in the base areas behind the enemy's rear changed?' Quite a few people were surprised at learning that the base areas where people's political power had been established had become a society of a new democratic nature instead of a semicolonial and semifeudal nature. This was called: 'They took their good fortune for granted.' A few years ago, some people also attempted to deny that ours is a socialist society and called our society a 'feudal socialist' society. This was also a mentality of 'taking one's good fortune for granted.' At present, some party members have failed to understand the fundamental difference between capitalism and socialism in terms of essential characteristics of the time, and as a consequence, their minds are crammed with muddled ideas. This is an expression of their lack of the political consciousness which is required by the times."

Our revered Comrade Yang emphatically said: "While strengthening party spirit, we must enhance our own consciousness and political awareness which are required by the times and proceed to consciously undertake the responsibility of the times."

Our revered Comrade Yang said: "The tasks of the communists who live in different eras vary accordingly. In a semicolonial and semifeudal society, the party spirit of that era was manifested in overthrowing the three big mountains and wholeheartedly striving for the complete victory of the new democratic revolution with the spirit of the legendary old man who moved mountains. After the victory of the new democratic revolution, the party spirit of the communists who lived in that era found expression in a concentrated way in making a success of the transition--this important event--from new democracy to socialism in accordance with the laws governing the historical development of society in China. The tasks of the communists who are today living in the socialist era are to adhere to the four basic principles and to be ready to struggle for the prosperity of China and for the realization of the great cause of the 'four modernizations.' If a party member can conscientiously implement and adhere to the four basic principles in his practical work in light of realities in his specific locality and specific department, he is thus entitled to be called a party member who has party spirit. Deviation from the four basic principles means the absence of party spirit. If one deviates from the four modernizations, he cannot begin to talk about acquiring the political consciousness which is required by the times."

Party Spirit Resides in Personality

In talking about party spirit, more often than not, we are confronted with the question of the relationship between party spirit and personality. Our revered

Comrade Yang said: Some people worry that personality will be blotted out when party spirit is emphasized. This is a misunderstanding. In the speech entitled "On Coalition Government," Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that by carrying out the revolution, communists intend to "seek a way to guarantee the people's freedom in developing their personality in their common life." In other words, strengthening party spirit and developing their personality are identical. The relationship between party spirit and personality can be taken as the relationship between generality and particularity in terms of philosophy. As generality resides in particularity, party spirit is shown through the personality of party members. Whether or not a party member or a cadre has party spirit or whether he has a strong or weak party spirit is shown through his concrete ideas as well as words and deeds. So long as a person who is living in the present-day Chinese society has the political consciousness which is required by the times, can plunge into the cause of socialist construction with all his heart and all his might and make contributions to the socialist cause, his words and deeds will certainly embody party spirit. The socialist cause is multifaceted and so is the ability of the people who participate in socialist construction. So long as a person can do his best to contribute his ability and wisdom to certain kinds of labor and benefit the development of the socialist cause, his skill will surely embody party spirit. If a sanitation worker can fulfill his duty and keep the toilets clean, and if an actor can give performances in an earnest manner and enable the audience to enjoy beauty and to receive education in moral accomplishment and in spiritual civilization, then they are all people who have party spirit.

Our revered Comrade Yang specially referred to the question of the party spirit of theoretical workers. He said: "In chapter five, section four of the book entitled 'Materialism and Empirio-Criticism,' Lenin spoke of party spirit in philosophy and said: 'Take the various philosophical utterances by Marx in 'Das Kapital' and other works, and you will find an invariable basic motif; that is, insistence upon materialism and contemptuous decision of all obscurity, of all confusion and all deviations toward idealism.' Marx's clear-cut party spirit in philosophy is always the model of all Marxist theoretical workers."

Our revered Comrade Yang said: "I have recently found a booklet entitled 'Man Is the Starting Point of Marxism.' The word 'man' is specially printed in capital letters. In my opinion, the name of the booklet is wrong and it will be right if we change it to 'Man is the Starting Point of 'Real Socialism'.' 'Real Socialism' was a bourgeois socialist school in Germany in the 19th century. The so-called 'man' viewpoint of the followers of this school was repudiated by Marx and Engels a long time ago. Engels pointed out: 'Real Socialism' is a real reactionary theory which has long been negated by the communists and, moreover it is 'reactionary in every sense.'" Our revered Comrade Yang said laughing: "You may read such essays as 'Communists and Karl Heinzen' and 'Problems of Drawing Up a Constitution in Germany.' Marx and Engels stated this question clearly a long time ago."

Coming to this point, our revered Comrade Yang took a piece of paper and wrote the words: "I hate the supplantation of red by purple." Full of wit, he said: "That is a remark by Confucius which means that he loathed very much the practice of passing off fish eyes as pearls. In China of the 1980's there are still some members of the Communist Party who propagate as Marxism the humanism of the

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

QUESTIONS ON PROSPERITY FOR PEASANTS EXAMINED

HK221000 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 15 Aug 83 p 5

[Article by Zhan Wu [6124 2976], Liu Wenpu [0491 2429 3877] and Zhang Houyi [1728 0624 5030]: "Several Questions on Socialist Common Prosperity"]

[Text] After the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party definitely declared that it would try to let some peasants get rich first and then help the rest to get rich together. Practices showed that this is the correct principle of great and far-reaching significance which will gradually lead to the socialist common prosperity in rural areas in our country. After this principle was put forth, it has extensive attention and has aroused discussions at home and abroad. Some problems related to this principle have already been solved through practices, while some others are still subject to further discussion. Here below we are going to elaborate our views.

What Are the Main Features of Socialist Common Prosperity?

In our opinion, there are three main features.

First, to get rich through hard work. According to extensive investigations, most peasants that became rich first are crackerjacks at different trades. They became rich because they are models of hard work and thrift, or because their families have more labor force of better quality; or because they have made good use of auxiliary labor force in their families and have given full play to their own favorable conditions; or because they are skillful craftsmen in certain fields; or because they are adept at learning and using scientific know-how; or because they have made good use of local resources to promote a diversified economy; or because they are well informed of the market trends and are adept at commodity production and management; and so forth. In short, they have become rich through hard work and by legal means within the limits permitted by policies and laws of the state. As for a small number of upstarts who have made ill-gotten wealth by engaging in speculation and profiteering in violation of the state law, their illegal practices have actually violated the current policies under our country's socialist system. Such people, subject to penalty by law and bound to be denounced by the masses, have absolutely no future.

Second, those who have got rich sooner will encourage and help the others to get rich and, eventually, all people will get rich. Under the socialist principle of distribution according to work, there will inevitably be some peasants who earn more and get rich sooner and some others who earn less and get rich later. However, at the same time, those peasants who get rich sooner can serve as examples for others, pushing the latter to amend their pace in getting rich. According to a survey conducted among 18,529 peasant households in 568 counties in 28 provinces, municipalities, and regions, the average net per-capita income, which was 133.6 yuan in 1978, increased to 223.4 yuan in 1981. The percentage of those rich households with a net per-capita income higher than 300 yuan to all peasant households, which was 2.4 percent in 1978, rose to 22.6 percent in 1981. In the meantime, the percentage of those poor households with a net per-capita income lower than 100 yuan decreased from 33.3 percent to 4.7 percent. This showed that there are more and more rich households and fewer and fewer households in difficulties and, at the same time, the income of peasants has extensively increased by a wide margin.

Third, the prosperity of the individual peasant and the prosperity of the state and the collective are interdependent and complement each other. The prosperity of the individual and the collective is the basis for the prosperity of the state, and the prosperity of the state is the guarantee for the prosperity of the individual and the collective. The income derived from the collective distribution is the main source of the wealth of the peasants, while the income derived from household sideline production is an important supplement. The peasants can get rich quickly only by upholding the principle of walking on two legs--promoting collective economy (cooperative economy) as well as household sideline production. Of those specialized households which get rich sooner, some which have signed contracts with the collective are themselves members of the collective economy; and the others which are independently engaged in specialized commodity household sideline production can make progress and get rich only by closely depending on the collective and the state-owned economy. Most of these peasants who get rich sooner are earnest in fulfilling the contracts which they have signed with the state and the collective for production tasks and for the supply of agricultural products and commodities. They actively provide accumulation funds to the collective and the state, try their best to sell agricultural and sideline products to the state to fulfill procurement quotas, and conscientiously do their duties to the state. Under our country's socialist system, the party and the government allow nobody to get rich by deviating from the socialist road and by engaging in illegal practices which infringe upon the interests of the state, the collective, and other individuals.

Why the Policy of "Common Prosperity" Can Begin To Work After the Third Plenary Session

Back in the mid-1950's, our party put forth the goal of "common prosperity," and has sought the specific road for the peasants to achieve common prosperity under the socialist system. Under the guidance of the rural economic policies formulated by the party since the third plenary session,

the broad masses of peasants eventually found out the road. For sure, a good situation of common prosperity has now emerged in the rural areas, and this is the victory of the rural economic policies worked out by the party since the third plenary session. Three of these policies which complement one another and are linked together have the most significant and direct impact.

1. On the premise that the public ownership of the basic production means is safeguarded, reform is to be carried out in the management form, the egalitarianist practice in distribution is to be cast away, and the socialist principle of "from each according to his ability and to each according to his work" is to be implemented. In the past, under the erroneous "leftist" influence, we enforced the egalitarianist policy which has fettered the broad masses of peasants, terribly harmed their initiative, and failed all people to give full play to their capability. Although the slogan of "common prosperity" was repeated every day, the people actually remained "poor all the same." Only by carrying out the contracted responsibility system linking remuneration to work, in which the remuneration of the peasants is closely related to the quality of their work and they are vested with the decisionmaking power in management, can they be filled with "internal motive force" pushing them to get rich through hard work and can their initiative in production and their sense of responsibility as the masters be brought into full play. Now, it can be clearly seen that there are more peasant households which have got rich sooner and made more achievements in reaching the goal of common prosperity where the contracted responsibility system linking remuneration to work is carried out in a big way.

2. Vigorously promote commodity production and commodity exchange, encourage and give support to specialized households. Since the third plenary session, with the encouragement and support by the party in terms of policy, commodity production and commodity exchange have boomed constantly and the number of specialized households continues to increase. This has broken up the traditional "small and complete" production form in the rural areas, has gradually turned the household planting, breeding, and handicraft industry into specialized intensive production, and has thus brought about a remarkable increase in the percentage of marketable products, labor productivity, economic results, and net income, which ordinary peasants can never achieve. The degree to which commodity production is developed is directly proportional to the degree of wealth of the peasants.

3. Tolerate the difference in the speed of getting rich and the gap in the degree of wealth among the peasants, and allow some peasants to get rich before others. In the past, being afraid that the so-called polarization would emerge if some peasants were allowed to get rich before others, we adopted the policy of "equal wealth"--many restrictions were imposed on the management of private plots and land, household sideline production, country fair trade, and collective distribution, and nobody was allowed to be "too outstanding." Such practices harmed the peasants' initiative in getting rich through hard work. Now, the party is carrying out the policy of "encouraging rich peasants and giving help to the poor ones." On the

one hand, allowing and encouraging some peasants to get rich sooner so as to stimulate and push the others to get rich together; and, on the other hand, giving full support to those poor households and poor production brigades to promote production and increase income. As a result, the broad masses of peasants have greater and greater enthusiasm and stronger and stronger confidence in getting rich through hard work, and the vast rural areas, engaging in production at full steam, are becoming more and more prosperous.

How To Comprehensively Understand the Practice of Getting Rich Through Hard Work

There are several main types of rich households in the rural areas at present: 1) Those households which, with relatively sufficient manpower, or by fully tapping latent manpower, have performed more hard work in production than ordinary peasant households. 2) Those households which, having devoted efforts to learning and using scientific knowledge and having thus acquired relatively advanced agricultural techniques, can carry out some relatively large-scale specialized intensive production and achieve better economic results. 3) Those households which, acquainted with the law of supply and demand in the market, can rationally manage commodity production of planting, breeding, handicrafts industry, and so on, and engage in diversified economic activities such as commerce, transport, the garment industry, and so on. 4) Those households which, with relatively high management ability, have played backbone roles in organizing various new forms of economic integration. All these practices mentioned above are legitimate ways to get rich through hard work. Therefore, we must avoid one-sided understanding of the meaning of labor. In fact, all activities in the fields of production, as well as circulation, management, and scientific and technological research, which are necessary and beneficial to the society, should be regarded as different kinds of labor.

For a long period of time, the peasants were allowed only to engage in pure agricultural production. And the labor in other trades, particularly the purchasing and marketing activities, were regarded as "dishonest practices" which were to be criticized as capitalist tendencies. This consequently hindered rural areas from getting rich. Such a trend which violated the law of agricultural economic development was a reflection of the self-sufficient small-scale peasant economic concept. As a result of the process of the modernization of agriculture, the improvement of the scientific and educational level among the peasants, the development of the agricultural production responsibility system, and the increase in the agricultural labor productivity, there will be more and more surplus agricultural labor force to be freed from the work on land and poured into different nonagricultural labor activities. This is a natural trend of economic development in rural areas.

Of course, we should also be aware that agriculture is the basis of the national economy, that agricultural production remains the most fundamental and most necessary material production and a kind of relatively stable,

reliable, and long-term productive undertaking. Although the current pricing system is not reasonable enough, peasants still can get rich by engaging in planting (of industrial crops or grains) as long as they can rationally allocate labor force, engage in meticulous farming, strengthen scientific management, and be hard working and thrifty. As persuasive evidence, a number of specialized households which have got rich by growing commodity grains have emerged in many areas today and, in some places, this type of household even accounts for over 25 percent of the rich households.

How Can We Have a Comprehensive Understanding of the Trend of Broadening and Narrowing the Gap in Degree of Wealth Between Individual Peasants?

Since the third plenary session, the gap between personal incomes of individual peasants has broadened while they are becoming rich. Such a trend of broadening the gap in income will be going on for a certain period of time in the future. However, the case varies from production team to production team. The following phenomenon is worthy of our attention. Some relatively poor production teams which engage solely in grain production have little production potential and are facing poor working conditions. Moreover, they fail to make full use of their auxiliary labor force. Therefore, the relative gap between the incomes of individual peasants in these production teams is wide although the overall income level is low. However, for some rich production teams, the gap between the incomes of individual peasants is comparatively narrow since they have high production potential, have done a good job in promoting a diversified economy, have made appropriate use of minor labor force, and have relatively successfully brought technical personnel into play. An example for the former case is the Dawa production brigade, the poorest one in the Xuedao commune, Qingdao city. The average distribution per-capita income of the richest two households and that of the poorest two households are in a ratio of 3.8 to 1. An example for the latter is the Wawuzhuang production brigade, the richest one in the same commune, with a ratio of 2.7 to 1.

At the same time, while the overall trend is that the gap is broadening, some production brigades, on the contrary, have witnessed a narrowing of the gap under certain conditions. For example, in the Xiaogang production brigade of Chu County, Anhui Province, the average per-capita income of the richest household in 1977 was equivalent to 1,370 percent of that of the poorest household. However, this multiple was reduced to 3.9 in 1980.

In a long-term point of view, this gap between the incomes of individual peasants will, by and large, be narrowed step by step because: 1) the overall income level of the peasants is rising daily; 2) the scientific and educational level of the peasants is being extensively enhanced; 3) through extensively tapping latent production potential and promoting a diversified economy, the economy in rural areas is undergoing an overall development; as a result, it is possible to make relatively rational use of different kinds of labor force in rural areas, in particular the minor labor force and auxiliary labor force of households in difficulty; 4) the work to assist production brigades in difficulty and poor households has been gradually strengthened; and 5) the gap in the number of dependents between

Individual peasant households is being gradually reduced. But, this trend to narrow the gap will be a rather long process.

How To Correctly Understand the Relationship Between Encouraging a Part of Peasants To Get Rich Before Others and Building Common Prosperity

Building common prosperity is a desired goal, and encouraging some peasants to get rich before others is a strategic measure to attain the goal.

The application of the principle of distribution according to work and the promotion of commodity production are two things which show that there is a difference in the speed of getting rich and in the degree of wealth among individual peasants, and that some peasants might get rich before others and could get rich faster than others. To tolerate and protect such differences are to encourage the advanced and to spur on the backward. This is of great and profound significance to arouse the peasants' enthusiasm in production, to encourage them to emulate the advanced, to improve scientific farming, to raise management level, and to achieve better economic results. Only by so doing will it be possible to accumulate enormous social wealth and to establish a material basis for building real common prosperity.

Some peasants who are allowed to get rich before others can set an example for the remaining peasants on how to get rich through labor. These peasants have smashed the bonds of the influence of "leftist" errors and are confident of the party's policy of getting rich through labor. By using their own experience as an example, they may persuade other peasants to dispel their misgivings about getting rich. On the other hand, these peasants have gained much experience in getting rich through labor, such as nourishing diligence and thrift, achieving better economic results, seeking the correct way to expand production, rationally arranging labor force, adopting scientific methods in farming, and improving the labor productivity and commodity rate of farm products. In all these respects, they have discovered a series of inductive methods in varying degrees, which might be of great help to other peasants in probing their ways and methods to get rich by following the example of these peasants. Now, the instance of one rich peasant household bringing along a large number of other households to get rich can be seen everywhere in the country. Besides, among those peasants who have got rich before others, many of them have a fairly high revolutionary spirit. They are supporters of the party's line and policies and are lovers of the state and collective. They find it a pleasure to help others and voluntarily offer a helping hand to the households with material difficulties. All these are good examples for the peasants around them to follow in elevating their morality.

Some peasants who are allowed to get rich before others can make more and greater contributions to the state and collective. Thus, the state can concentrate more financial capacity and material resources on supporting and helping those peasant households with material difficulties. Meanwhile, these peasants may also become active promoters of the party's policy of encouraging the peasants to get rich through labor among the broad sections of the peasants.

How To Correctly Understand the Relationship Between Encouraging the Peasants To Get Rich and Making the Country Rich

A good situation of common prosperity refers not only to the richness of all the peasants but also to the common prosperity of both the peasants and the state. The richness of the peasants is the basis of making our country prosperous, and the prosperity of our country will ensure the peasants to become richer. Of the 1 billion people of our country, 800 million are peasants, so encouraging them to get rich is of great importance to the future prosperity of our country. The reasons are: 1) Making the 800 million peasants become rich will promote the growth of the national economy at a quicker pace. 2) It is an important guarantee for the people of the whole country to live a comparatively well-off life. 3) When the peasants become rich, they will be able to solve many imminent problems through their own effort, thus the state will be able to transfer more funds to key construction projects. Therefore, making the peasants become rich as quickly as possible along the socialist road should become the guideline for the state in carrying out economic construction. In encouraging the peasants to get rich through labor, we must inspire them to action, render them support in production, protect them to achieve good results, guide them to a right direction, and help them form workable plans.

We must be sober-minded on the fact that the peasants are just starting to become rich. Surely they are richer than before, but they are still far from being as rich as the party and state expect them, or as compared with those in developed countries. Judging from the historical experience of other nations, we find that if the industry of a country, particularly the basis of the industry such as energy and communications, has not reached a certain level, the peasants can hardly become very rich even though there is a relatively good material and technical foundation in agricultural production. Now, our country needs more money for building key construction projects in energy and communications. At present the state revenue is still at a fairly low level, and it is impossible for the government to render excessive support to agricultural production, including funds for investment and subsidies for the pricing of farm products. Otherwise, it will affect the state key construction projects and the stability of market prices, and is harmful to the long-term interests of the peasants. Meanwhile, the peasants must be taught that the basic principle guiding our economic work is "first, feed the people and second, build the country," and that the prosperity of our country will ensure them to become richer. They must also be taught that when they gradually get rich, they must properly make greater contributions to the country, spend more money mainly for the expansion of reproduction, and voluntarily raise funds to invest in the building of warehouses, roads, small hydroelectric stations, and small irrigation projects, and to engage in basic undertakings such as culture, public health, and public welfare so that the government will be able to concentrate efforts on key construction projects.

To Clearly Demarcate the Line Between Socialist Common Prosperity and Equalitarianism and Between the Former and "Polarization"

Due to the long existence of the small peasants' production method, there is a venerable ideological tradition of equalitarianism in our country. Since the transformation of individual peasants into cooperative farming in the past 20 years and more, the principle of "building common prosperity" has all along been mistaken as the principle of "eating from the same pot and receiving equal benefits." This has seriously confused people's thinking and resulted in the disastrous consequence of "living in poverty altogether." Such a practice of equalitarianism as a reflection of the concept of petty bourgeoisie has long been repudiated as a reactionary social ideological trend which has nothing to do with Marxism.

Some people are not clear of the social nature of "polarization." They think that the difference in the speed of getting rich and in the degree of wealth among individual peasants in socialist China is the same as "polarization." In fact, the theory of "polarization" set forth by Marxism is a complete scientific concept. It means that in a society of private ownership, the polarization of the rich and the poor becomes intense because commodity producers are subject to the law of value and the law of competition. On the one side, the rich become more rich. They are a small group of exploiters who become capitalists by relying on their possessed means of production. On the other side, the poor become more poor. They are a great majority of the employed who do not have a thing to their name because they have lost their means of production. Either in theory or in practice, there is no soil of "polarization" under the conditions of socialist public ownership and distribution according to work. We must be convinced that in nature, the reasonable difference governing the principle of distribution according to work in a socialist country is entirely different from the "polarization" in a society of private ownership.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

COMMENTARY URGES ELDERLY CADRES TO SUPPORT YOUNG

HK110630 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 31 Jul 83 p 1

[Commentator's article: "Elderly Comrades Must Do Their Best To Support Comrades Who Have Recently Been Placed in Leading Positions"]

[Text] In the past 3 years, particularly since the reform of the CPC Central Committee and state organs as well as provincial level organs and administrative structures, a group of young cadres, conforming to the demand of being more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated, and professionally more competent, have entered the leading bodies of departments at various levels. As a result of the all-round development of the reform of government institutions, there will be even more outstanding middle-aged and young cadres moving into first-line leadership posts. How to support and help these young comrades so that they will grow up better and faster at the new posts, and fully bring their wisdom and ability into play, has become a key problem for further making a success of the cooperation and replacement of new and old cadres, and unremittingly creating a new situation in modernization.

At the time of the beginning of the great turn in the course of events, the CPC Central Committee handed this important historical responsibility of selecting, fostering, and supporting cadres in the prime of life, with both ability and political integrity as a priority task, to the elderly comrades of the whole party. In the foregoing period, many elderly cadres set the overall situation of the four modernizations of the state above everything else, resolutely implemented the party's policy for cadre work in the new period, took the lead in smashing obstacles of "leftist" erroneous ideas as well as all forms of old habits, actively recommended worthy and capable people, earnestly and sincerely supported those outstanding young cadres whose seniority, prestige, and experience were not as good as their own to take charge of work while they took positions at the back, and many of the comrades withdrew to the second or the third line. These elderly comrades, who placed the interests of the party above everything and gave no thought to their own advance or decline in position, displayed the farsightedness and lofty moral character of communists, and they made valuable contributions to reforming the government institutions and the cadre system and to adding new vitality to the leading administrative structure. At present, there is still a great deal of work to be done

In this respect, and we hope that the elderly comrades will continue to play a still bigger role.

The selecting of outstanding young cadres to principal leading posts in the first line is after all only the first step for carrying out the cooperation and replacement of old and new cadres in an orderly and systematic manner. There is still a second step, and this requires the elderly comrades to wholeheartedly support the newly promoted young cadres by allowing them to boldly perform their duties and fully give play to their leadership ability, so that they can contribute their efforts for the flourishing development of the state as well as the prosperity and well-being of the people, and temper themselves in practice to become more mature and steadfast. The work in the second step is of greater significance and more important than the work in the first step. Without the first step, one cannot begin to talk about implementing the strategic policy decision of the CPC Central Committee on the cooperation and replacement of old and new cadres; without the second step, it will also be difficult to implement this strategic policy decision which has a bearing on the future and destiny of the state and nation, and there may even be the danger of it being abrogated at the very beginning. This can be compared to the planting of a tree. It is of course important to properly select and plant the sapling, but after the sapling has been planted, it is still necessary to pay attention to scientific cultivation before it can mature into a sturdy tree. Otherwise, it can still wither and die as a result of a natural disaster or human cause. It goes without saying that the fostering of qualified people to shoulder the heavy responsibility of leadership is much more complicated than the planting of trees. This requires our elderly comrades to devote more energy and efforts to the healthy growth of the young comrades they have carefully selected and placed in leading positions in the preceding stage, be responsible for them to the end, and support them to do their work well. This is not simply supporting a certain person, but is an important measure for guaranteeing the continuance of the line and policies of the party and ensuring the victorious advance of the cause of socialist modernization. Regardless of the elderly comrades who still remain in the core of leadership at present to carry on the work of passing experience, giving help, and setting an example, or the elderly comrades who withdrew to the second or third line, they should all shoulder this inescapable political duty.

In supporting the cadres newly placed in leading positions, we must do so wholeheartedly, and not halfheartedly; we can give only genuine support, and cannot give fake support; we not only must give verbal support, but we must also show our support through our actions; we not only must give them direct support, but we must likewise support them behind the scenes; we not only must give support ourselves, but we must also urge the other leading members as well as the masses to give joint support. Naturally, this kind of support must pay attention to party spirit, and this also means that it must be for the sake of correctly implementing the four basic principles as well as the line, policies, and principles of the party in the new period. Otherwise, so-called support will not only be meaningless, but will also be vulgar and harmful.

Here we must stress that in the reform of government institutions, the party organization has relied on the elderly cadres who know their subordinates well enough to assign them jobs commensurate with their abilities and on the judgment of the masses for the selection of new cadres to be placed in leading positions, and they have been carefully picked and tested before being introduced into the leading bodies. Most of these new cadres have had 20 to 30 years of experience, and are politically more resolute. They have richer professional knowledge, and are former working and professional hardcore people. They are full of vigor and possess conditions necessary to be in charge of the strenuous routine duties of the first line. We must fully take this into account, and on this basis, support them at their new posts and boldly give them a free hand in developing work. Naturally, giving them a free hand does not mean adopting a laissez-faire attitude or washing our hands of them. We hope that the elderly comrades will take advantage of the favorable opportunity to free themselves from routine work and concentrate their main energy on problems of major political policies involving the overall situation, and when "timely help" is needed, to make a success of the work of advising, consulting, supporting and encouraging, and provide the cadres newly placed in leading positions the environment and conditions for performing their normal duties and giving full play to their abilities. For example, in the face of important matters, and particularly new problems, the elderly comrades can make more investigations and study, put forward carefully considered views, and help the new cadres to keep abreast of developments, open up their minds, work out careful plans, and make correct decisions by relying on collective wisdom. When studying problems, we must support the new cadres to fully express their views, and then calmly carry out discussions. Upon hearing a somewhat dissenting view, we must not indiscriminately tag such labels as "not respecting the senior cadres" and "becoming complacent and forgetting oneself" without examining the reason or distinguishing whether it is right or wrong. Because of the change in position of the new cadres, and because they also have this or that kind of failings and shortcomings, it is difficult for them not to have faults or mistakes in dealing with certain matters. We not only must not attach too much importance to the mistakes of the new cadres, but we also must not treat them too casually. We should carefully analyze the causes giving rise to mistakes with them, study means to solve the mistakes, and help them to remedy the mistakes, draw on the lessons, and keep on advancing. The new cadres may also encounter some unexpected difficulties in their work. Under this kind of situation, the elderly cadres must conscientiously use their own experience, wisdom, and prestige among the masses to help them clear up misunderstandings. In short, the elderly cadres must enthusiastically show concern for the young cadres newly placed in leading positions, and give them help and support. In helping and supporting them, they must use their ideas and energy in places where they are most needed. They must express more views on problems of policies and principles, and interfere less in specific affairs. The young comrades newly placed in leading positions frequently have more worries, and when helping and supporting them, the elderly comrades must under no circumstances tie their hands and feet, dampen their drive, or suppress their initiative and creativity for creating a new situation in modernization.

Because of historical reasons as well as mistakes in former work, such as old-fashioned feudalistic viewpoints and customs as "considering qualifications and arranging ranks according to seniority," despising young people, and making distinctions based on relations in dealing with comrades are still frequently seen today, and in addition to the "leftist" viewpoint and prejudice of despising knowledge and the intellectuals which extensively exist, these inevitably create obstructions to those comrades with ambition and promise newly placed in leading positions. The elderly comrades must give encouragement and support to the young comrades so that they will firmly believe in the masses, have faith in the party, work with single-hearted devotion for the four modernizations, and use tenacious struggle, zealous work, and actual political achievements to smash the moribund viewpoints of certain people, and to remove the obstacles on the path of advance, and at the same time, to make themselves more mature through their work. Among those who "find faults in a petty manner" with the young comrades newly placed in leading positions, the overwhelming majority of them are people with problems in ideological understanding, a handful harbor malicious intentions, and a few individuals deliberately create confusion to attack and destroy the newly emerging force. Regardless of what the condition may be, this is impermissible. Party committees at various levels, and our elderly comrades in particular, must actively take precautions, carry out ideological work beforehand both inside and outside the party, and give early warning, and may still specially pass restrictive resolutions or provisions. If they discover people who show no consideration for the overall situation, ignore the criteria in the political life of the party, and maliciously slander, make things difficult for, and attack the young cadres newly placed in leading positions, the party organization and the elderly comrades must promptly step forward and solemnly criticize and stop them. Only thus can we consolidate and develop the achievements of the reform of government institutions and the readjustment of leading bodies of the preceding stage, make a success of the cooperation and replacement of new and old cadres, give play to revolutionary uprightness, and check the unhealthy tendency of "after a thing has been done slanders will spring up, and if one enjoys high prestige will surge forward."

Comrade Chen Yun said that the cooperation and replacement of new and old cadres are in fact for solving the problem of the changing of cadres at the juncture of carrying forward the cause and forging ahead into the future. "There will always be supersession in human affairs, this has been so since time immemorial." Most of our elderly comrades respect the dialectics of historical development. They have been able to actively recommend outstanding young cadres to take over the cause of the revolution, and they certainly will also be able to support, with great enthusiasm and vigor, the new cadres to properly take over. The young cadres recently placed in leading positions should greatly value the support and care given by the elderly comrades, respect them, modestly learn from them, and set an example in the party as well as in society by giving play to the fine habit of respecting the old and honoring the able. There is an ancient saying: "Indigo blue is extracted from the indigo plant, but is bluer than the plant it comes from." This saying expresses a law. However, there is a

condition of "indigo blue" being bluer than the "indigo plant," for without the "indigo plant" there would be no "indigo blue." We hope that the comrades recently placed in leading positions will fully understand the heavy historical responsibility of "carrying forward the cause and forging ahead into the future" they shouldered, use one divides into two in dealing with themselves, set a strict demand on themselves, correctly handle the relations between the individual, the organization, the collective, and the masses, and with the support of the elderly comrades and the party organization, extensively unite with comrades in various fields, become more dynamic and enterprising, and use the achievement of unremittingly creating a new situation to reciprocate the great expectations of the party and the people.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

PRO. OFFICIAL ON RIGHTS OF CO-OP MANAGERS

HK020436 Beijing ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO in Chinese 27 Aug 83 p 2

[Report: "The Rights To Appoint and Remove Managerial Cadres of Collective Enterprises Should Be Guarded--A Responsible Comrade of the Labor and Personnel Ministry Answering Questions of ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO Reporter"]

[Text] Since our newspaper published on 2 August the letter from Teng Chunling, deputy manager of the Beijing Chunfeng food store (a collective enterprise), reporting her unreasonable dismissal by the Jianguomen neighborhood production and service cooperative, as well as the investigation notes of our reporter, some of our readers have written in asking questions about the principle of cadre management for collective enterprises of cities and towns. The reporter has interviewed a responsible comrade of the Ministry of Labor and Personnel regarding these questions.

Question: What is the principle collective enterprises should follow in cadre management?

Answer: The collective enterprises of cities and towns should practice democratic management, and such questions as the production, appointment and dismissal, and allocation of leading cadres of collective enterprises, are an important aspect of democratic management. The "provisional stipulation of the State Council on certain policies for the collective economy of cities and towns" explicitly pointed out: The rights to appoint and dismiss managerial cadres of collective enterprises should be respected and safeguarded. The Beijing Municipal Jianguomen neighborhood production and service cooperation has transferred in cadres at will without consultation with the enterprise, and suspended and dismissed the former deputy manager. This is obviously not respecting the rights of collective enterprises to appoint and dismiss personnel.

Judging from the direction of developments, the appointment and dismissal of leading cadres of collective enterprises should be decided by a general meeting of staff and workers or a workers' congress and cannot mechanically copy the existing management methods of whole people enterprises.

Question: Do the present collective enterprises of cities and towns have conditions for the democratic election of cadres?

Answer: There are various types of collective enterprises in our cities and towns. Collective enterprises above the prefectural and county level should adopt positive and reliable measures to carry out reforms, restore the characteristics of collective economy, and, sooner or later, institute and perfect a system for the democratic election of cadres. The new collective enterprises set up must carry out work based on the principle of the democratic management of collective economy at the onset. For example, the collective economy departments of Shanghai are using whether or not the collective enterprises have their own staff and workers holding the posts of leading cadres as one of the criteria for judging whether or not the enterprises are advanced. Such methods have promoted the practice of democratic management in enterprises and enabled the staff and workers of the enterprises to greatly strengthen their sense of responsibility of being the masters of their own affairs, and economic results have notably improved.

The method of the Beijing Jianguomen neighborhood production and service cooperative, in dismissing a young deputy manager with management and administrative ability, is in essence a step backward.

Question: At present, what is the condition of young cadres in collective enterprises? How should we treat young cadres of collective enterprises?

Answer: In recent years, there have been nearly 10 million young people employed by the new collective enterprises set up in cities and towns. The development of collective enterprises and the superiority of collective economy have created new and favorable conditions for the training of young managerial personnel. Large numbers of outstanding cadres have emerged in the collective enterprises, and many of them are outstanding managers who understand technology and are good at management. Some are hard-working plant managers who have changed the features of the enterprises, and some are secretaries of CYL branches good at carrying out ideological and political work among the young people. Many of them have become labor models and advanced workers, and they have won praise from the people. These outstanding young cadres are valuable assets of our cadre contingent at the basic level and although their number is still small at present, they are the hope of our country for the vigorous development of collective economy in cities and towns.

Precisely because of this, leading cadres of various departments and on various fronts should enthusiastically support these young [people] of the collective enterprises, [word indistinct] "get on their horses, lead them part of the way." In concrete work, we should emancipate the mind, boldly train them, create conditions for them, and give them a free hand, so that the young cadres will mature as quickly as possible.

Some young people will unavoidably have shortcomings. This is perfectly normal, and there is no cause for alarm. Even if the young cadres have made mistakes, based on the policy of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones, and curing the sickness to save the patient," we must still sincerely and earnestly help them. We must make allowances for making mistakes and [words indistinct] them with one blow. The form of dealing with cadres who have made mistakes should mainly be decided by the collective enterprises themselves. The leadership organs may make suggestions, but should not use administrative orders and force the enterprises to make this or that kind of decision.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

RENMIN RIBAO REMEMBERS PARTY VETERAN LAI JIFA

HK060912 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 1 Sep 83 p 5

[Article by Qin Jiwei [4440 1015 0251], Yang Chengwu [2799 2052 2976], Ding Yuan [0002 0626], and Li Jingzhao [2621 2529 2507]: "Comrade Lai Jifa, Who Was Always Loyal to the Cause of the Party and the People"]

[Text] After Comrade Lai Jifa passed away, the central leading comrades wrote in a report: "Comrade Lai Jifa was really a veteran comrade who was always loyal to the cause of the party and the people." This was a high summary of Comrade Jifa's revolutionary life. His lofty character as a proletarian revolutionary soldier will remain forever in our hearts.

Army Provisions Official on the Long March

Comrade Lai Jifa was born in 1910 into a poor peasant family in Longtan Village, Tanghu Township, Yongding County, Fujian Province. In 1926, he joined the CYL in Yongding County and in 1927 he established the first CYL branch in West Fujian Province, becoming its secretary. He became a CPC member in 1928, organized secret peasant associations, and mobilized the peasants to resist monetary and grain taxes. After the defeat of the Western Fujian peasant revolt, over 10 Red Guards [armed units of the masses in the revolutionary war base areas during the second revolutionary civil war, 1927-1937] carried on the struggle under his leadership. The general commander of the troops combatting the "bandits" in the three provinces of Fujian, Guangdong and Jianxi, Guo Fengming, pasted up a notice offering a reward of 500 silver dollars for Lai Jifa's head. The local civil corps sent a messenger into the mountains to persuade Lai Jifa to surrender, offering him a lot of preferential treatment, such as promotion and wealth. Comrade Jifa angrily rebuked them, saying: "Tell your corps leader that he is blind: We have men and guns, and will soon have saved some money, and when we have, we will put a price on his head." The branch of the peasant corps under Comrade Jifa's leadership combined with the corps led by Li Lisan and that of Wu Yangwen to form the Shanghang East Road guerrilla corps, and captured Hengcheng, killing the county magistrate, and continuing their occupation for over 10 days and nights. Later, under the leadership of Comrades Deng Zihui and Zhang Ding, Comrade Jifa took part in and organized the joint rebellion of Yongding, Shangheng and Longyan Counties. Comrade Jifa acted variously as committee secretary of the fourth and fifth districts of Shanghang County, and county committee member. In 1929, when the central Red Army entered

Fujian Province, the previously separate guerrilla areas joined into one, and the Western Fujian Soviet area was established, closely connected with the central revolutionary base area of the Jinggangshan mountains.

After the Gutian congress, outstanding local cadres were selected to strengthen the troops, and Comrade Lai Jifa was transferred to act as camp party representative in the newly formed Red Army Regiment 105. In 1931, he became political commissar of the Regiment 105 of the 12th Red Army. The troops led by Comrade Lai Jifa carried out their activities in the Fujian-Jiangxi border area. In 1932, the temporary central government moved from the White area via Hong Kong to Dapu in Guangdong Province, then wound their way through Fujian's Yongding, Shanghang and Changting toward Jiangxi, where they established the central base area. Leading his soldiers, Comrade Jifa ran great risks and smoothly completed the task of escorting them.

During the fighting against "encirclement and suppression," he fought a number of tough battles. In the first fight against "encirclement and suppression," after a meeting of the front committee, committee member Mao went personally to Xiaopu, where the 12th Red Army was stationed, and said to General Luo Binghui: "Order one of your regiments to go to lead the enemy by the nose, and act as bait to guide them into the Soviet area, right to Longgang." The task was carried out under the leadership of Comrade Lai Jifa. Leaving the Soviet area far behind, they went deep into the enemy area, 1 li behind enemy lines, and step-by-step led the enemy to the Longgang area. Our 1st and 3d army regiments surrounded them from several sides, and wiped them out in one fell swoop. When the KMT's 16th Route Army rebelled, and Ningdu, which later became the central Soviet region, was liberated, Comrade Jifa's troops undertook interception tasks to the south of Lean, Yihuang and Guangchang Counties, and to the north of Ningdu and coordinated their fraternal troops to liberate Ningdu, and enter and occupy Guangchang. After the failure of the first three "encirclement" campaigns, Chiang Kai-shek went to Nanchang to organize the fourth. The Red Army was surrounded by the enemy on three sides, and when the 12th Red Army advanced, its route was blocked by enemy defense in the mountains. The 6th regiment attacked the enemy's commanding height with artillery fire, but had achieved no results even after 2 days. Under cover of night, Comrade Lai Jifa led company with light packs, which swooped down on the main peak, and before daylight, when the enemy discovered them, they were already near the summit; after a life or death battle, they regained control of the summit, and escorted the main forces through.

Two days before the Long March, Comrade Lai Jifa was appointed supplies commander of the second division of the first front army of the Red Army, and concurrently hygiene director. He later also took up the post of director of propaganda and organizational work among civilians for the 31st army.

When the main forces of the Red Army left the central base area, they passed through new districts, border areas, places with difficult access and strategic passes. The people needed grain, the horses needed grass, fighting required ammunition, and the wounded needed treatment; the old and weak needed care, and the dead comrades had to be arranged for; and all these difficult tasks fell on the shoulders of Comrade Lai Jifa. When they were passing through Guizhou, Comrade Jifa led some forward troops, and captured an official's villa in the

mountains, where they acquired some cloth and medicine in exchange for some goods. When they passed through a county town to the southwest of Kunming, Comrade Jifa led several soldiers to find out the whereabouts of the enemy's base position, and acquired some white sugar, biscuits, ham and Yunnan Baiyao [a type of medicine]. These goods relieved the urgent needs of the troops. When they rushed across the natural barrier of the Wujiang River, Comrade Jifa went without sleep for several nights; he organized the masses to collect rope, doors, wood and large bamboo baskets, to make bamboo rafts and floating bridges, and thus ensured the Red Army's safe trip across the river. When they crossed the grasslands, Comrade Zuoquan said that the way would be desolate and uninhabited, and that the army provisions official would have to prepare sufficient relief food. Comrade Jifa exerted tremendous efforts to fill the soldiers' packs with highland barley and edible wild herbs. He himself was so exhausted, however, that he contracted tuberculosis and spat blood.

Heroic Soldier in the Flames of the Taihang War

In order to fulfill the party Central Committee's strategic task of using the Taihang Mountain as a support to establish the Puluyu anti-Japanese base area, after the 7 July incident, Comrade Jifa, in his capacity as deputy chief of the propaganda and organization department of the 29th division, was ordered to lead a platoon of the 5th company of the training regiment of the 29th division into Shanxi. In his capacity as responsible person of the communications station of the 8th Route Army, he came first to Yuci Town, flanked by Taiyuan on the north and Yangquan to the south, making contact with the party's Zhengtai working committee, and establishing an 8th Route Army office. When the senior officers of the 29th division passed through Yuci, they instructed Comrade Lai Jifa to turn the Bafuling Mountains of Yuci into the "anti-Japanese Jinggangshan base area of Northern China." Comrade Jifa was to go with special envoys from the Ximeng committee of Yuci County to the biggest factory in Shanxi, the Puhua Weaving factory, to mobilize the workers, and establish anti-Japanese armed forces, after which he was to work with Comrade Zou Jiwei to organize the students of the Taigu Mingxian school, along with peasant troops, miners from Yangquan and Pingding, and the workers on the Zhengtai railway, to form a support force for the 29th division. Comrade Zou Jiwei took the position of commander, while Comrade Lai Jifa was concurrently political commissar and secretary of the Puzhong District political committee. Their detachment was active in the Puzhong District, and quickly grew from its previous 300 or 400 men to a force of 4,000 or 5,000 men.

Throughout the anti-Japanese period, Comrade Jifa made great contributions to the creation, maintenance, and consolidation of the Taihang District. Comrades Liu Baicheng and Deng Xiaoping praised Comrade Lai Jifa thus: "He was politically sturdy, courageous and active, hard working and responsible." Once, when the army was moving from Heshun County to Yuci County, it was surrounded by the enemy; the sky was full of airplanes and the ground was thick with bullets. Under his leadership, the army forced their way through five encirclements in 1 day. In the heat of the battle, Comrade Jifa and Comrade Fan Zixia led three regiments of the new 10th brigade, and undertook to sabotage the main force of the Zhengtai railway; they tore the railway to pieces. In the great battle to protect the Jia Pasee to the Huangyan caves, Comrade Jifa led his troops to counterattack, and fought extremely hard and courageously. Comrade Jifa led his troops to break up the enemy's "three-route encirclement attack" on Taihand, along with the "six-route encirclement attack" and the "nine-route encirclement

attack." In April 1941, Deng Xiaoping proposed to "fight against apathy, and open up the serious situation in Taihang." In order to carry out this order, Comrade Jifa led the second branch army of Taihang to open up the whole situation, struggling against the enemy with armed resistance as the core. The second branch army went north to the Zhengtai road, and west to link up with the Pu road, forming the through road between the party Central Committee in Yanan and the various northern China base areas. They escorted many leading comrades to Yanan to participate in the "Seventh Party Congress," and escorted a large number of leading cadres from northern Shaanxi to eastern China, central-south China and other areas.

In September 1939, the 8th Route Army set up the first machinery factory in Yuci, and went on to build a series of factories producing bullets, bombs and guns, which played an important role in the anti-Japanese war. In 1943, Kang Sheng launched the "those-who-have-fallen" movement, and intervened to bring a halt to the war industry. The CPC Central Committee transferred Lai Jifa from the party school in the north, where he was studying at the time, and sent him to the war industry ministry to work. The leading cadres said to him: "If we are to achieve ultimate victory in the anti-Japanese war, we first need great numbers of guns and ammunition; you must go to the war industry ministry to be the political commissar, and quickly restore war industry production." When Comrade Jifa arrived at the ministry, he found that all the cadres, engineers and technicians had been sent to cells to stand trial, while the workers had been collected together in army camps to undergo training; meanwhile, the machines stood motionless, and the chimneys produced no smoke. The 100 and more outstanding engineers and technicians who had gathered for the war industry effort had been made to wear huge hats, which were so heavy that they could hardly breathe. Comrade Jifa resolutely got rid of all intervention and prejudice, negated all the false materials which were used to obtain confession by compulsion, and reexamined cases, dispelled misunderstandings, and unloaded burdens from the comrades. Earnestly, he said to the comrades: "In a period of war and chaos, when the nation is in danger of extinction, you have either returned to the motherland from abroad, or abandoned the rich life of the city to come to this isolated, poor, desolate mountain; you have given up your comfortable lives to come to the liberated areas to throw yourselves into the revolution. All of this represents a concrete demonstration of the best political and historical conclusion." Everybody went back to work and happily went back to their own positions. Production swiftly recovered and developed; the Liugou iron factory was built, and the tar factory and the fireproof materials factory were successively built and put into operation. Over 10 war industry factories grew to a workforce of over 6,000 staff and workers, forming a large-scale base area for war industry production. General Zhu said happily: "In the victory over the whole country, the war industry must be given great credit in the record of merits."

Developer of the Construction Materials Industry

After the founding of New China, Comrade Jifa became director of the general office of the Ministry of Heavy Industry. When the Construction Materials Industry Ministry was established in 1956, he became its minister. He was one of the founders and developers of our country's construction materials industry. Under Comrade Jifa's leadership, our country developed the industry's system,

opened up the nonmetallic mining industry, and filled the gaps in our supply of inorganic, nonmetallic, sophisticated defense materials.

Comrade Lai Jifa said: "The construction materials industry is the basis of capital construction, and at the same time, we must expand the scope of its service, so that it provides not only for construction engineering, but for the most advanced branches of science and the national defense, for agricultural and industrial production, and for the lives of the people in the towns and countryside." No construction materials industry had been established in the old China; there were only a few cement and glass factories, whose output was [a] lot and varieties poor, and all of the factories were amassed around the coastal cities. Now, large-, medium-, and small-scale cement factories are spread all over China and output has leapt to third place in the world. In accordance with the special needs of water conservancy, oil, chemical industries, communications and defense, research and development work has managed to produce dozens of special kinds of cement. None of these achievements in the field of the construction materials industry can be separated from the hard work of Comrade Lai Jifa. He personally participated in choosing the sites of some large-scale construction materials industries and factories. Under his leadership, the planning, geology, mining, operation and installation involved in the construction materials industry were turned into a whole system; he also established special scientific research organs and teams for cement, glass, ceramics, nonmetallic mining and local materials, in order to develop the basis for technology and new products.

Starting from the real situation in our country, Comrade Jifa actively developed cement products. He said: "Our country is big, but we lack steel and wood, so the use of cement and concrete to make telegraph poles, railway sleepers, pressure piping, ships and buildings, may be substituted for, and therefore save on, a lot of steel and wood; this is something of great significance." The cement boats which shuttle back and forth across the region of rivers and lakes south of the Changjiang River, the cement railway sleepers which stretch away into the distance, and the cement telegraph poles supporting high-tension cables which spread throughout the towns and villages, all represent the crystallization of the hard work of the broad masses of staff and workers on the battlefield presided over by Comrade Lai Jifa. In order to conform with the development of the national economy, Comrade Jifa made special efforts to grasp the opening up and utilization of nonmetallic materials and pushed forward the development of the nonmetallic materials industry. The key development of this industry was carried out in the mountainous border areas, where production and living conditions were extremely tough. Comrade Jifa went personally to the Sichuan asbestos mine and the Sichuan Danba Mica mine; he climbed high mountains, and went down into the mines, conducting examination and research, and solving problems. In the summer of 1965, he went to Qinghai, to visit the Mangya asbestos mine 3,000 meters above sea level. At that time he was suffering from pulmonary emphysema, and the comrades with him tried to persuade him to stop halfway. Comrade Jifa said: "If we don't go and have a look, if we don't go and learn about the place, how can we possibly inspire other people to take part in construction?" He insisted on crossing the ravines, the grass and the sands, and reached Mangya. Due to the high altitude, the air was thin, and his breathing difficulties returned, but he was determined to deliver a report to the staff and workers, and said right at the start: "We have just arrived, and have dis-

covered a few problems. This is because we have come only a few times; from now on, we will come much more often, so this problem will no longer arise." He stayed for a few days in Mangya, visiting the production sites and the workers' homes, helping in the work of investigating the production development plans, and drawing up measures concerning the lives of workers' families. Comrade Jifa held the position of construction materials industry minister for a long time, and most of the key construction projects still bear his mark.

After 1960, it became necessary for us to rely on our own efforts to produce atomic bombs, hydrogen bombs, carrier rockets, and man-made satellites, which required that the Construction Materials Industry Ministry speedily develop and produce new nonmetallic materials, and sort out difficult technological problems. When Comrade Jifa took up his position, he personally grasped all the links, from the drawing up of policies, and establishing research institutes, to deploying specialized personnel, and amassing specialized equipment. With concerted efforts, there were gradually produced special glass, glass fiber, glass fiber reinforced plastic, bulletproof glass for aviation, special ceramics, special cement, synthetic crystalline and other nonmetallic materials, for use in military equipment.

A Cadre Who Could Be Promoted and Demoted

In the war years, Comrade Lai Jifa fought hard, charged the enemy lines and advanced at the head of his men; during the period of peaceful construction he studied assiduously, went deep into reality and worked diligently. He was totally loyal to the party, obeyed the organization, and respected discipline; he was open and straightforward with his comrades. His conduct will always be a lesson to us and has left us with valuable spiritual wealth.

Comrade Jifa did not just drift with the tide, but upheld the principle of seeking truth from facts, and was good at protecting his comrades in adverse circumstances. In 1931, Wang Ming conducted the elimination of counterrevolutionaries in the Red Army, and purged the A B regiment. Comrade Jifa was political commissar of the training regiment, and when he returned from fighting at the Ruijin front, he discovered that many comrades had been investigated and isolated, and that some had already been killed. He took the risk of speaking individually to the comrades who were being examined, and then went to the higher authorities to question the wisdom of the personnel in charge of eliminating counterrevolutionaries. Comrade Jifa said that real enemies must be attacked, but there must be proof, and cadres had to be handled with great caution. After the liberation of the whole country, and he became a minister, he continued to take loving care of his comrades. In 1957, when a vice minister was struggled against excessively, Comrade Jifa went to the higher authorities and openly expressed his differing opinion on the matter, and upheld his opinion even after he was criticized. He made great efforts to keep in his post a bureau chief who had been wrongly labelled as a rightist, and to find work for him.

Comrade Jifa cherished great aims, was able to deal with both promotion and demotion, and was very lenient. In 1932, when he was political commissar of Regiment 105 of the 12th Red Army, because he stopped a traitor's plot to betray his country, he was framed as being insubordinate, punished, and demoted

from the position of political commissar to that of an ordinary scout. He went through organizational channels to reflect his opinion to the higher authorities, and at the same time outstandingly fulfilled his job as a scout. Four months later, when the whole truth came out, and he was reinstalled as acting political commissar of his division, he uttered not a word of complaint. In 1958, when he had been construction materials minister for just over a year, and the "realm of freedom" incident occurred, though it was not his fault, he voluntarily wrote a self-criticism in the RENMIN RIBAO. Today, comrades in the construction materials industry still say: "Minister Lai did not write an article describing his achievements in the paper, but a self-criticism for which he should not have had to be responsible."

Comrade Jifa was a veteran party member with over 50 years of party membership; he always kept himself within the bounds of the party constitution, and examined his behavior according to it. Comrade Jifa left his home in 1929, and did not return for 30 years. In 1959, when he went to Fujian to look into the siting of a new factory, he passed through his home area, and the comrades with him suggested that he go back for a visit. Before he went, he wrote to the central leading comrades to ask for leave. They allowed him 15 days holiday, but he stayed at home for only 7 days, and while he was there, he went out to the fields to sow crops. Due to structural reorganization, the Construction Materials Industry Ministry was moved and set up several times, and Comrade Jifa was sometimes minister, and sometimes vice minister. Some comrades could not see the wisdom of this. Comrade Jifa said to them: "Whether you are promoted or demoted, you must always serve the needs of the revolution; no matter whether you are the chief or the deputy, in the front lines or the rear guard, it must not affect your enthusiasm for party work." He never argued about his post, so long as he was given a task. Comrade Jifa said: When there are so many posts, party cadres cannot jockey for position.

When Comrade Lai Jifa held leading posts, he maintained intimate relations with the lower levels, and shared weal and woe with everyone. During his time as construction materials minister, he knew by name all the party secretaries and factory leaders of all the big enterprises, and also knew their background, abilities, family circumstances, and so on. Many of the country's most famous cement and glass specialists, and experts in nonmetallic materials, were his close friends. These comrades came in and out of his home as they pleased, and discussed anything they liked with him, whether it consisted of private or public affairs, well- or ill-considered opinions. He had frequent contact with many workers, and always went to visit them in the mines, while some workers in the frontline of production wrote to him. In early 1960, a worker in the calcination workshop of the China cement factory in Nanjing, when he was overhauling the equipment, disregarded his own safety to save the equipment, and sadly died from poisoning. Spring Festival had nearly arrived, and Comrade Jifa had just returned to Beijing from investigations in Tangshan. He immediately rushed off to Nanjing to attend the worker's funeral. On the day of the funeral procession, he accompanied the dead worker's family for over 10 li, and laid the coffin in the cemetery out of town. When he had discovered the details of the progressive, heroic deeds of this worker, he sent a report of them to all the factories in the construction materials industry for propaganda and study. During the war of resistance against Japan, when he was political commissar in the new 10th brigade, when there was a drought and life was exceptionally hard, he asked the cook to

make meals specially for Fan Zixia, a brigade leader who had defected from the Pinghan guerrilla column of the KMT, while he himself went to the canteen to eat with everyone else. In 1949, when they conquered Taiyuan, he was in charge of organizing the takeover of the industry there, and Comrade Lu Da, a metallurgy expert who had graduated from Berlin University, was the deputy organization chief. They lived in the same house, and Comrade Jifa generously gave the main room to Lu Da and his wife, while he and his family lived in the south room. Comrade Jifa was tolerant of others and strict with himself, and his hard, plain-living style left people with a deep impression.

Comrade Jifa's total loyalty to the communist cause, and his revolutionary spirit of heroic struggle, will always inspire us to progress!

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

DENG XIAOPING'S INSCRIPTION FOR YANBIAN'S FOUNDING

SK031044 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 2 Sep 83

[Excerpts] Today is the 31st anniversary of the founding of the Yanbian Korean autonomous prefecture. On the eve of the anniversary, Comrade Deng Xiaoping wrote an inscription, which reads: "Build the Yanbian Korean autonomous prefecture in a faster manner and to a still better place."

JILIN RIBAO 3 September frontpages in a prominent position the inscription personally written by Comrade Deng Xiaoping and the editorial entitled: "Kind attention and glorious task."

The editorial states: On the eve of the 31st anniversary of the founding of the Yanbian Korean autonomous prefecture, Comrade Deng Xiaoping wrote in his own hand the important inscription "build the Yanbian Korean autonomous region in a faster manner and to a still better place." The inscription expressed the kind attention and ardent expectations of the CPC Central Committee and the veteran proletarian revolutionaries, greatly inspired the people of various nationalities in Yanbian and the people across the province and give us more strength and confidence in building the four modernizations.

The editorial states: The CPC Central Committee has always been greatly concerned with the people of various nationalities in Yanbian and with the construction and development of the Yanbian Korean autonomous prefecture. Early in the 1960's, the esteemed and beloved veteran proletarian revolutionaries, including Zhou Enlai, Zhu De, Dong Biwu and Ye Jianying, went to Yanbian for inspection and work and made a series of important instructives. In November 1981, while talking with the principle leading comrades of the provincial CPC committee, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: The Yanbian in Jilin Province is a border area where the people of Korean nationality live in compact communities and is a prefecture where the people of Korean nationality practice self-government. Its strategic position is very important and, therefore, the construction cause should be developed more rapidly and vigorously. This important instructive has been rapidly transmitted level by level to every household and has become an important impetus to the work of the autonomous prefecture. The fact that Comrade Deng Xiaoping recently wrote this important inscription with his kind attention and ardent expectations has once again pointed out the way to develop Yanbian's socialist construction and put forward glorious tasks. This is his attention to us and will spur us on. We should regard this as a

strong ideological impetus, integrate the study of the inscription with that of Deng Xiaoping's selected works, deeply understand their important significance, enhance our spirit, be determined to build the Yanbian's spiritual and material civilization in a faster and more vigorous manner and promote the development of the work across the province so as to respond with practical actions the attention and expectations of the CPC Central Committee and the veteran proletarian revolutionaries.

The editorial states: Being located on the borderland, the [words indistinct] of Yanbian is very important. Meanwhile, with a vast area, rich natural resources, more mountains and forests, rich mineral resources, plenty of special local products and great energy reserves, Yanbian enjoys exceptional advantages in developing the economy. Over the past 31 years since the founding of the Yanbian Korean autonomous prefecture, under the kind attention of the CPC Central Committee and the direct leadership of the provincial CPC Committee, the people of various nationalities across the prefecture have united to work hard and have already scored remarkable achievements in the spheres of politics, economy, science, culture and education. The people's mental outlook has also changed. However, we should notice that, compared with the advanced areas, Yanbian's economic foundation is still weak, the speed of the growth of industrial and agricultural production is not quick enough and the potential of various natural resources needs further exploration. Therefore, we should never be satisfied with the present situations. We should rapidly and better fulfill the glorious and arduous task assigned to us by Comrade Deng Xiaoping. This is also an important historical task entrusted to us by the times and the great trust placed in us by the party and the people. We should fully understand its importance and urgency, go all out to make progress, forge ahead courageously and speed up our pace so as to scale new heights in all areas of work.

To build Yanbian more rapidly and more vigorously, it is necessary to strengthen the unity among the people of various nationalities. The unity among various nationalities is a priceless treasure. With this priceless treasure, it is possible to achieve success in all areas of work. We should cherish the national unity as we do our eyeballs, should extensively educate the people of various nationalities with the Marxist theory concerning the nationalities and with the party's policies concerning the nationalities affairs and should firmly foster the idea of all nationalities depending on each other for survival and the idea of nobody being able to live without others. We should refuse to speak the words which are detrimental to the national unity and refuse to do the things which are harmful to the national unity. Everyone should attach importance to the overall situation, voluntarily maintain and protect the national unity, promote the national unity and further develop a political situation in which unity and stability go hand in hand with liveliness and vitality. This is the most important guarantee for achieving success in building Yanbian.

The editorial concludes: The current situation of Yanbian is very good and its potential is very great. Looking ahead, we are filled with boundless prospects. Let us unite as one under the guidance of the guidelines of the 12th party congress and work hard for creating magnificent, splendid and good prospects for Yanbian.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

GONGREN RIBAO ON POLITICAL, IDEOLOGICAL WORK FOR WORKERS

HK270834 Beijing GONGREN RIBAO in Chinese 22 Aug 83 p 1

[Editorial: "Teach by Verbal Instruction as Well as Personal Example--Fifth Discourse on Intensifying Ideological and Political Work for Workers in Enterprises"]

[Text] Coal departments have basically curbed the unhealthy trend of "slipping back." This is worth studying. In particular, leading comrades at various levels should study it conscientiously. How did the coal departments succeed in solving the long-term problem of persuading those workers, who had [word indistinct] to work elsewhere, to continue to work in [the] pits? Leading comrades of the Kangcheng coal mine gave the following answer: Apart from being unafraid of pressure and carrying out ideological work on a grand scale, leading cadres should play an exemplary role. This was the most decisive factor for solving the problem.

Comrade Hu Yaobang said: "Making oneself an example is the most important condition for doing ideological and political work well." This is also a deep-reaching experience summed up by the party over the past decades. Apart from the fact that our party has a correct political line and is able to express the fundamental desires of the people, there is a very important condition which ensures that our party can lead the broad masses of people to march from victory to victory whether in war, or in the period of the socialist construction. This condition is the exemplary role of Communist Party members and cadres. Apart from being able to do organizational and propaganda work, cadres should take the lead in everything and play their exemplary role. This is the most important thing for them to do. As long as cadres do things vigorously and speedily, the masses will not follow a dilatory style of work. As long as cadres do their work earnestly and seriously, the masses will not be perfunctory in doing things. As long as cadres take the lead, the masses will follow them closely. All this has been proved by a host of facts.

To enhance the patriotic and communist consciousness of the broad masses of workers and turn the party's line and policies into a conscious act of the masses, we must do a lot of ideological and political work. This is beyond any shadow of doubt. However, our ideological and political workers, leading cadres at various levels in particular, should, first of all, become active followers of patriotism and communism and exemplary executors of the party's line, policies

and resolutions. Only thus will the masses completely accept their theories and follow them. Over the past decades, an important reason why our party's ideological and political work is accepted by the broad masses of people is that the deeds of our Communist Party suit its words. During the 10 years of internal disorder, unhealthy trends of saying one thing and doing another prevailed. People criticized some cadres, saying that "they talk a lot, but their deeds do not match their words." It was demanded of the masses that they be unselfish, but some cadres abused their power to seek personal gain. This severely discredited the party's ideological and political work. Now we should restore and carry forward the party's fine tradition of actions matching words. To do so, leaders at various levels and ideological and political workers should, first of all, "set an example." They should set an example with their own conduct. When they ask the masses to do something, they should first do it themselves. When they do not want people to do something, they should be the first to refrain from doing it. If leading cadres cannot set an example with their own conduct, this is, in the final analysis, a matter of party work style. Leaders at various levels and ideological and political workers should explicitly realize that to strengthen and improve ideological and political work for workers in enterprises, the most important thing for them to do is to rectify party work style. If party work style is unhealthy, workers will not believe what the leaders say. Only by doing well in rectifying party work style and urging cadres and party members to play their exemplary role, will the party's various guidelines and policies be thoroughly implemented. Only thus can our ideological and political work convince people.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

BEIJING LEADERS STUDY DENG XIAOPING WORKS

OW280635 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1236 GMT 27 Aug 83

[By reporter Zhou Taoshu]

[Excerpts] Beijing, 27 Aug (XINHUA)--All reforms must be carried out in the socialist orientation and in the interests of the people. This is one point the Beijing municipal party committee standing committee stressed in studying the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" according to the actual conditions in which reforms are being carried out there.

At a recent study and discussion meeting, standing committee members of the Beijing municipal party committee pointed out: The direction in which reforms have been carried out in Beijing Municipality in the past 2 or 3 years is correct, and tremendous achievements have been made in this regard. However, the reform tasks are still very arduous and many problems remain to be solved. For example, there is still much work to be done in setting up and streamlining party and government organizations at various levels, in training cadres and improving their qualities, and particularly in building the ranks of third-echelon cadres.

Standing Committee members said: Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out that the basic aim of reform is to promote what is beneficial and abolish what is harmful and to eliminate malpractices that hinder to some extent, or even seriously, the efforts to bring the superiority of socialism into full play. Reforms must be conducive to building socialism with distinctive Chinese characteristics and must be beneficial to the prosperity of the country and the well-being of the people.

Duan Junyi, first secretary of the municipal party committee, said: Adhering to the socialist orientation is beneficial to the masses of people which makes it a prerequisite for carrying out all reforms; otherwise, reforms will not progress or may even go astray.

Mayor Chen Xitong pointed out: In carrying out reforms in enterprises, it is naturally necessary to consider how much profits can be increased and how many economic results can be achieved. However, it is not permissible to increase profits by deviating from the socialist orientation and by using inappropriate means that are detrimental to the interests of the people. Reforms must be carried out in the socialist orientation.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

NEI MONGGOL REGION INSPECTED--Liao Hanshen, vice chairman of the NPC Standing Committee, made an inspection tour of the Nei Monggol Region from 23 to 24 August. During his inspection tour, Vice Chairman Liao listened to a report on the work of the regional people's congress standing committee and visited, in the company of Zhou Hui, first secretary of the regional CPC committee, some herdsmen families in (Wu-lan-tu-ba) Commune in Darhan Muminggan United Banner. During his visit, Vice Chairman Liao inquired in detail about the situation of herdsmen's production and livelihood since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and, in particular, since the institution of the all-round contracting system in animal husbandry. He warmly encouraged herdsmen to plant more forage grass and trees and to actively develop livestock production to support our country's four modernization drive. When Vice Chairman Liao arrived in and departed Hohhot, regional party, government and army leading comrades including Zhou Hui, Bu He, Tian Congming, Se-yin-ba-ya-er, Chao-luo-meng and (Li Xiheng), met him and saw him off at the station. Also seeing him off at the station were Comrades Ting Mao and Kong Fei, close comrades-in-arms of Vice Chairman Liao. [Excerpts] [SK270804 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 26 Aug 83]

CSO: 4005/1161

SOUTHWEST REGION

INTERVIEW WITH YUNNAN VICE-GOVERNOR, DEPUTY TO 6TH NPC

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 21 Jun 83 p 6

[Article by Gao Xinqing [7559 2450 1987]: "After a Specialist Has Taken Up Administrative Work--An Interview With The Vice-Governor of Yunnan and Deputy To The 6th NPC, Li Zhengyou]

[Text] "I love my profession, and have never thought of being a government official," the newly-elected deputy to the 6th National People's Congress and vice-governor of Yunnan Province, Li Zhengyou [2621 6027 0645], said with a heavy Sichuan accent. He was wearing a pair of sandals and sitting on the sofa when we began our conversation. He honestly did not have the look of a government official. With a suntanned face, strong arms and shoulders, he obviously was an outdoor person who had seldom sat in an office.

Being the vice-research-staffer of the Yunnan Agricultural University and a famous paddy rice breeding specialist in China, Li Zhengyou, 47, at present is still not a CPC member. In 1969, he successfully cultivated China's first male sterile line of paddy rice--the Yunnan #1 "Hong Mao Ying" Sterile Line nonglutinous rice, taking the first encouraging step in the research of crossbred paddy rice. In 1973, he again successfully crossbred the three strains of long-grain nonglutinous paddy rice (sterile line, restorer line and sterile-free line). This was a major breakthrough in the research of long-grain crossbred paddy rice in China. After selective breeding and cross breeding of various varieties, he again cultivated nine varieties of artificial sterile lines. Together with other comrades, he continued the delicate breeding and research on the three strains of Yunnan type paddy rice, and came up with "Dian Rui 409", "Dian Xie Number One", "Dian Xing Number Eight", "Yun Zhao Number Four" and "Dian Yu Number One", all regular varieties with high yield. Last year, "Dian Yu Number One" was planted on 30,000 mu of farmland in Dali County. The average output per mu was 1,300 jin, and the highest output per mu was 1,887 jin, setting a record for a single crop of long-grain nonglutinous rice.

During the "ten years of turbulence", Li Zhengyou secretly conducted tests of crossbred paddy rice in farms and mountain valleys. Consequently, he was categorized as a typical "white specialist" and was severely criticized. His material and seeds were repeatedly confiscated. At last, his capital

and material resources were cut off, and he had to beg for money in order to continue his research.

Meditating on his past difficult journey of scientific research, Li Zhengyou said with profound sentiment: "I firmly believed that the path I walked was correct. Without this belief, I would have succumbed to the criticism, the threats and the difficulties." In order to pursue success in his career, Li Zhengyou left his two school-age children to his sick wife, as he was busy travelling between Yuan Jiang, Xishuangbanna and Hainan Island. For more than 10 years, he spent most winter and summer vacations and spring festivals at the breeding bases. During difficult times, he only had 20 cents as a daily food allowance.

Popular opinion is a pendulum. Over time, the broad masses of people realized that Li Zhengyou was a talented man. As a result, they pushed him into the leadership position.

Li Zhengyou said in the interview: "Many middle-aged intellectuals have been elected as deputies to the National People's Congress, indicating the heavy historical responsibilities the people of our generation are shouldering. We must do our utmost to accomplish the tasks the people entrust to us."

"When one is in office, one has to devise a good plan in his work," Li Zhengyou changed the topic of discussion and talked about his future plans. "I am the vice-governor responsible for agriculture and forestry. First, we must understand and have a clear picture of the present conditions of agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, side-line production and fishery and land and water conservancy in Yunnan. We must also seek advice from past governors, past leadership comrades and specialists of the economic research centers, go to the basic level to gather firsthand material in order to locate the key problems in the economic development of Yunnan. After these have been carried out, we can formulate practical programs and plans."

"Second, on the basis of implementing and relaxing rural policies, we must make a great effort in developing agricultural science." In regard to the training of personnel, he emphasized that we must build an agricultural educational system, agricultural universities and agricultural institutions. The training goals of agricultural schools must be clear; training classes for comrades in this business and comrades in various special fields must be well-managed. We must, in particular, pay attention to the training of agricultural technique cadres in rural and minority nationalities areas.

As if he was thinking of something, Li Zhengyou stared outside the window and said, "To succeed in our work, we must obey two rules. First, we must depend upon the party. Second, we must not become separated from the masses. If we adhere to these two rules, we will survive. Otherwise, we will be a flash in the pan, transient and short-lived."

12365

CSO: 4005/943

NORTH REGION

ZHOU HUI GREETES RALLY FOR ADVANCED MODELS

SK260445 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 25 Aug 83

[Excerpts] According to our reporter (Wu Xinmin), the commendation rally for advanced units and individuals emerging in the autonomous regional level organs and from the work to strengthen unity among various nationalities opened in Hohhot city this morning. Zhou Hui, first secretary of the regional CPC committee, presented a banner to the rally on behalf of the regional CPC committee and the regional people's government. Speaking on behalf of the regional CPC committee and the regional people's government Comrade Wang Duo delivered a congratulatory speech in which he extended cordial regard and lofty respect to representatives of various nationalities from the regional level organs and from various fronts and units who had scored marked achievements and contribution to strengthening unity among various nationalities.

In his speech, Comrade Wang Duo stated: The regional level organs which assume important responsibility, are the work departments of the regional leading organs. It is hoped that various departments and units should integrate their work with their reality so as to further implement the spirit of the important instruction given by the CPC Central Committee on Nei Monggol's work. In line with the three principles set forth by the regional CPC committee for solving questions concerning unity among various nationalities, they should do a good job in conducting national unity in a down-to-earth manner. It is necessary to earnestly conduct education on the party's nationalism among the people and earnestly and painstakingly deal with practical questions stemming in the work of nationalities affairs. Efforts should be made to combat various trends of bourgeois nationalism and to steadily enhance unity fostered by various nationalities. It is necessary to foster a fine practice in which everyone is able to foster the thinking of national unity, to understand the policy on nationalities affairs, and to support national unity activities while speaking and doing things. Efforts should be made to enable cadres and the masses of various nationalities to firmly foster a correct idea of mutual dependence and to be more conscious in being a promoter of national unity.

Attending the rally were other leading comrades of the regional party, government, army, and CPPCC organs, including (Zhong He), Wu En, Li Xiangyi, (Li Xiheng), and (Chi Shengrong); veteran comrades who had long worked for the region, including Zhang Rugang and Li Binsan; responsible comrades from various departments, commissions, and bureaus under the regional level organs and from the mass organizations, and responsible comrades from the preparatory office for the regional commendation rally of national unity models.

CSO: 4005/1162

NORTH REGION

CHEN WEIDA OPENS MUNICIPAL WOMEN'S CONGRESS IN TIANJIN

SK160454 Tianjin City Service in Mandarin 1430 GMT 15 Aug 83

[Excerpts] The Seventh Municipal Women's Congress, which has long been expected by the broad masses of women throughout the municipality, opened this morning. More than 800 women representatives from various fronts in the municipality happily gathered at the middle auditorium of the municipal guest house to discuss how to implement the directives issued by the central authorities regarding women's work, how to create a new situation in municipal women's work, and how to elect new leading personnel of the municipal women's federation.

The opening ceremony of the congress was presided over by (Li Zhen), executive chairman of the congress. (Gao Qingqin), vice chairman of the Municipal Women's Federation, made an opening speech.

Attending the opening ceremony were leading comrades of the municipal party and government organs, including Chen Weida, Zhang Zaiwang, Li Ruihuan, Wu Zhen, Tan Shaowen, Bai Hua, Xiao Yuan, Liu Zengkun, Yang Jingheng, He Guomo, and (Wang Xuzeng), as well as Song Zhenchun, political commissar of the municipal garrison district, and (Zhao Jiang), political commissar of a certain PLA unit stationed in the municipality. Seated on the congress rostrum were noted veteran women comrades, including Yang Huijie, Luo Yun, (Shao Qinghua), and (Zhang Jingchuan); women leaders, experts, professors, exemplary workers, and red-banner pacesetters from the fronts of industry, agriculture, education, public health, finance and trade, public security, and literature and art; and women representatives of "five good" families, Taiwan compatriots, family members of personnel who stayed in Taiwan, and of various circles. Also attending the ceremony were principal responsible comrades from various departments, commissions, and offices under the municipal CPC committee; from various districts, counties and bureaus; and from various higher educational institutions.

Zhang Zaiwang, secretary of the municipal CPC committee, addressed the ceremony.

At the ceremony, representatives from the municipal trade union council, the municipal CYL committee, the municipal scientific and technical association, the municipal literary and art federation and from the municipal garrison district made congratulatory speeches.

At the ceremony, Comrade (Wu Fengyan), on behalf of the Sixth Municipal Women's Federation, delivered a work report entitled: "Women Compatriots Throughout the Municipality Should Be United To Make New Contributions to the Municipal Program of Achieving the Four Modernizations," in which she summed up the 10-year work done by women in the period since the Sixth Municipal Women's Congress held in 1973 and also put forward concrete demands for creating a new situation in the upcoming municipal women's work.

CSO: 4005/1162

NORTH REGION

CHEN WEIDA ATTENDS WOMEN'S CONGRESS IN TIANJIN ON 18 AUG

SK190403 Tianjin City Service in Mandarin 1430 GMT 18 Aug 83

[Excerpts] The 4-day Seventh Tianjin Municipal Women's Congress ended this morning after successfully fulfilling all tasks on the agenda. During the session, the participants examined and approved a work report submitted by the Sixth Executive Committee of the Tianjin Municipal Women's Federation, listened to and discussed important speeches by leaders of municipal party and government organs, exchanged work experiences, and elected the 83-member Seventh Executive Committee of the Municipal Women's Federation and 60 municipal delegates to attend the Fifth National Women's Congress. The closing ceremony was presided over by (Gao Qingqin), executive chairman of the municipal women's congress. Municipal party and government leaders including Chen Weida, Zhang Zaiwang, Wu Zhen, Tan Shaowen, Bai Hua, Xiao Yuan, Wang Xudong, He Guomo, and Xu Ming and Song Zhenchun, political commissar of the Tianjin Municipal garrison district, attended the congress.

Chen Weida, first secretary of the Tianjin Municipal CPC Committee, spoke. First of all, he extended warm greetings to the congress hailing its convocation. He then said: While discussing women's work, the secretariat of the CPC Central Committee defined that in the future, the principle and tasks of the women's federations will be focused on resolutely guaranteeing the legal rights and benefits of women and children, fostering the healthy growth of children and youths, and giving full play to the role of women in building the socialist material and spiritual civilizations. This has fully been reflected in that the CPC Central Committee has shown great concern for women and children and for women's work. This is of immediate concern to the women.

He stressed: To guarantee the legal rights and benefits of women and children, we must deal strict blows to criminals, especially those hooligans who abducted women and children, engaged in hold-ups, and those who have raped women. Cases of this kind must be handled strictly and rapidly.

In his speech, Comrade Chen Weida set forth ardent hope of the women in playing their part in building material and spiritual civilizations. He said: To foster the healthy growth of children and youths, we must rely on the efforts of schools, society, and families, especially family education. He expressed the hope that the broad masses of women will undertake this glorious task. Comrade Chen Weida called on the party committees at all levels to

strengthen leadership over women's work. He said: At present, we must organize cadres of women's federations at all levels to study Deng Xiaoping's selected works well, specifically implement the directives on women's work issued by the secretariat of the CPC Central Committee, stress the training of and selection of women cadres, conduct investigations and research in the practical life, and conscientiously sum up experience in doing women's work.

All delegates present at the congress unanimously adopted a resolution issued by the congress.

Prior to the closing ceremony, the municipal party and government leaders received the women's delegates from all walks of life.

CSO: 4005/1162

NORTH REGION

CHEN WEIDA RECEIVES TIANJIN REPRESENTATIVES

SK020558 Tianjin City Service in Mandarin 1430 GMT 1 Sep 83

[Text] On the morning of 1 September, responsible comrades of the municipal CPC committee and the municipal people's government, including Chen Weida, Wu Zhen, Nie Bichu, Yang Jingheng, and Wang Shudong, received Tianjin's representatives to the national conference to commend advanced people in developing collective and individual economy and providing jobs for youths in urban areas.

While receiving the representatives, Comrade Chen Weida, first secretary of the municipal CPC committee, said: Tianjin began to develop collective and individual economy just after the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. In view of the present situations, a rapid progress has been made in this regard. Now that the national conference in this regard has been convened, its orientation has been affirmed and nobody will regard you as the tail of capitalism.

Comrade Chen Weida said: Now, many trades, such as making eyeglasses and light breakfast foods, repairing bicycles and leather shoes, and cutting out garments have not yet been developed or only a few people are engaged in them. In line with the people's needs, we have many things to do. We should vigorously develop such trades. By so doing, not only can we provide jobs for youths but also we can make things better for the people.

Comrade Chen Weida said: You are the first to take such undertakings. Young people should have the pioneering spirit. We should continue to work now that we have broken a new path. The state, collective and individual units should be combined to contribute to the four modernizations and to the improvement of people's livelihood.

Comrade Chen Weida said: You should not think it's not respectable to engage in collective and individual undertakings. So long as you do a good job, you can also join the party.

I hope that you will propagate the party's policies and organize still more youths to engage in collective and individual production and labor.

Tianjin's representatives to the national conference to commend advanced people in developing collective and individual economy and providing jobs for youths in urban areas returned to Tianjin at 0930 this morning.

CSO: 4005/1162

NORTH REGION

CHEN WEIDA ATTENDS, SPEAKS AT CADRE MEETING IN TIANJIN

SK080644 Tianjin City Service in Mandarin 0030 GMT 8 Sep 83

[Excerpts] On the morning of 7 September, at a mobilization meeting of cadres of the municipal-level party and government organs, a principle leading comrade of the Tianjin Municipal CPC Committee declared: Nine investigation groups composed of 25 leading cadres of the municipal CPC committee, the municipal people's congress standing committee, the municipal people's government, and of some relevant departments, commissions, offices, and bureaus will soon go to the plants and enterprises under the textile bureau, the chemical industrial bureau, the first machine building bureau, the second machine building bureau, the first light industrial bureau, the second light industrial bureau, the metallurgical bureau, the medical and medicinal bureau, and the foodstuff industrial department to conduct investigations and research and help these plants and enterprises develop enterprise consolidation, raise economic results, and improve enterprise quality.

These investigation groups are organized according to the decision of the municipal CPC committee. This is an important measure to improve the work-style of various organs after basically finishing the first stage administrative reforms of various departments, commissions, and offices at the district and county levels.

Chen Weida, first secretary of the municipal CPC committee, and Tan Shaowen, secretary of the municipal CPC committee, spoke at the mobilization meeting. Comrade Chen Weida clearly pointed out: Investigation groups should go down to those plants and enterprises which have greater potential or more problems. The major task of these groups is to learn about the practical situations through investigations under the unified leadership and help plants and enterprises carry out enterprise consolidation, raise economic results, and improve enterprise quality. He also called on all investigation groups to achieve initial results in 2 months and tap the potential of these enterprises. He said: Leading organs should strive to define the duties incumbent on each person or post and solve the long-existing problems of disputing over trifles, poor work efficiency, and the bureaucratic style of work. The precondition for attaining this goal is to conduct investigations and research. It is necessary to make specific analysis of the specific situations in line with the spirit of seeking truth from facts. Theory comes from and guides practice. Both the theoretical workers and personnel engaging in practical work should conduct investigations and research on the objective reality of [words

indistinct] tasks. Without knowing the situation, without a great deal of firsthand information, without the basis of practices, and without the supervision and encouragement of the masses, it would be impossible to correctly formulate principles, policies, and plans and would be easy to commit mistakes. Therefore, we should [words indistinct], study from the masses and from practice. We should go to plants and enterprises to hear the reports of CPC committee secretaries and of plant directors. Particularly, we should visit the teams and groups in plants to hear the opinions of their leaders and workers. We should know that if we do not have a truly good administrative body, it is impossible to have real economic results. He also cited facts to show that leading cadres going to plants and enterprises to conduct investigations and research and joining hands with them in carrying out enterprise consolidation, raising economic results, and improving enterprise quality is not contradictory to their own work. On the contrary, this will be favorable to their work.

Attending the mobilization meeting were responsible comrades of the municipal CPC committee, the municipal people's congress standing committee and the municipal people's government, including Xiao Yuan, Yang Jingheng, Wang Xudong, He Guomo, Li Zhongyuan, Nie Bichu, and Li Lanqing. Also attending were (Wei Mingqing), secretary general of the municipal CPC committee; leading cadres of relevant departments, commissions, offices, and bureaus and some 400 theoretical workers conducting investigations at plants and enterprises.

CMU: 4905/1162

NORTH REGION

HOUSING CONSTRUCTION, DISTRIBUTION RECTIFIED

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 2 Jun 83 p 1,3

[Article by Feng Yaokai [7458 5069 0418] and Liu Xiaobo [0491 1420 3124]: "Baoding Revitalized in Process of Correcting Unhealthy Tendencies"]

[Text] Editor's note: In the process of rectifying unhealthy practices in constructing and distributing housing, the Baoding Chinese Communist City Party Committee showed great resolution, began by correcting their own style, dared to confront obstinacy and chose effective measures in conducting a thorough investigation into the problem of party member leading cadres occupying excess housing and in doing so arrived at pleasing, laudable results.

It is quite stimulating to read over this interview with Comrade Chi Guang [6741 0342], the First Secretary of the Baoding City Party Committee. Their experiences are quite valuable. It is now only one month until July 1st, the day stipulated by the Commission for Inspecting Discipline "Open Letter" as the deadline for vacating excess housing. It is hoped that all levels of party organizations will study the experiences of the Baoding City Party Committee, take a clear-cut stand and have a firm attitude in thoroughly and carefully working to completely rectify this unhealthy tendency in housing construction and distribution, and that this will promote strict party discipline and a correct party style and produce a new situation in changing party style for the better.

After the "Open Letter" from the Commission for the Inspection of Discipline was published, the Baoding city party committee sprang into action and became closely involved with vacating leadership cadres from their excess housing. They properly took the lead and achieved good results. They properly took the lead and achieved good results. According to the figures from the investigation, the entire city had 91 cadres above bureau chief level who exceeded housing standards, altogether occupying 127.5 excess houses. However, in a little over one month, 88 houses were vacated and another 37 houses have had the rent increased. Chi Guang,

the First Secretary of the Baoding City Party Committee was recently visited by reporters who asked him to talk about the problems of correctly handling the vacating of excess housing.

Rectification of the Unhealthy tendencies in Housing Construction and Distribution is a Major Undertaking which will Revitalize Baoding

[Question] What is your understanding of the significance of vacating leadership cadres from excess housing?

[Answer] Baoding is an historical city, one of the first in North China to establish a party organization, and as such it has a glorious revolutionary tradition. The 10 years of chaos harmed Baoding, and the greatest harm was to the party style. Since smashing the "gang of four," Baoding has made great efforts in revitalization and rectification, but because of the severe damage of the "cultural revolution" the scars have not yet healed, economic recovery is slow, and industries suffer continual losses. All of this is strongly related to an incorrect party style.

The seeking of privileges in housing construction and distribution by leadership cadres is a prominent example of an incorrect party style. Throughout the whole city many of the masses now have great difficulties in locating housing, some have three generations in a single house, and others married for several years still cannot locate housing. Yet some leading cadres use their authority for personal gain and secure excess housing for their children or their friends, and some as yet unmarried children of cadres have spacious housing. There is an inequality of hardship and pleasures, and the glaringly obvious differences have blunted the enthusiasm of the masses to work hard at the four modernizations.

The significance of vacating leading cadres from excess housing is not just an issue of a few houses, . . . rather is related to the issue of restoring mass esteem and trust in the party, whether or not it is possible to make a turn for the better in party style, and whether or not it is possible to stimulate mass enthusiasm. By becoming closely involved with rectification of the incorrect party style in housing construction and distribution and by properly resolving this problem we can promote all areas of work and revitalize Baoding.

Have Faith in Cadre Enlightenment and Have Faith in the Authority of Our Policies

[Question] How do you view the difficulties and obstacles in the task of vacating the excess housing?

[Answer] In Baoding, the problem of leading cadres occupying excess housing is relatively prominent. In the beginning, the city

party committee felt that this matter had to be handled with great care, so they took a faith and courage approach, however an "iron fist" which would come to get the job done. They decided to handle a few cases as examples and force the others to follow, with the others making sure this "did not happen again." Later on, a newspaper exposed the unhealthy tendency in housing distribution involving a leading cadre of the city First Bureau of Light Industry. With pressure from the newspaper, the city party committee actively pursued the matter and the comrades under criticism immediately corrected their errors by vacating the excess housing within seven days, so the matter was satisfactorily resolved. This matter was a great lesson for us as we realized that if we had sufficient resolve and dared to become involved and manage things we could resolve even very complex issues. It is necessary to have faith in the authority of party policy, have faith in the strength of the masses, and have faith in the understanding of the broad party membership and cadres. A few good cadres who had many years of party training and education began to realize that their personal behavior had caused harm to party trust and to the people's interests, so when they saw the broad picture they quickly corrected their ways. The city party committee decided to concentrate a period of time on holding study groups for leading cadres above bureau rank in order to resolve the problem of leading cadres occupying excess housing.

To Forge Steel One Must Be Strong

[Question] How were conditions in the task of vacating housing developed?

Answer] The city party committee's standing committee was the key in taking the lead. In the past the city party committee had repeatedly prohibited any incorrect practices in housing construction and distribution, but the lower levels ignored them. This time when study classes were held for leading cadres above bureau level, many people at first stood by and waited to see what would happen. The main reason why our words are ineffective is that they lack strong backing. To forge steel one must first be strong and to develop conditions in the task of vacating excess housing the city party committee leadership had to take the lead. To accomplish this, the standing committee of the city party committee first resolved its own problems by using two days of central party life meetings for the entire standing committee. They studied their thought, sincerely carried out self-examination and made criticism and self-criticism. Everybody in succession revealed his family resources and 6 members of the standing committee reported that they had vacated 9.5 houses, this was made public. This one act was worth 100 slogans, and with the standing committee of the city party committee showing the way, some comrades who had attended the study group put on their own hats and the attitude and more than 40 leading comrades publicly vowed that they would vacate excess housing.

Thoroughgoing, Meticulous Ideological Education

[Question] How does vacating excess housing attain the goal of rectifying party style?

Answer: Vacating leading cadres from their excess housing is not being done to provide a few more houses, but is done to rectify party style. In order to arrive at the predicted goals we worked quickly, made strict demands and were careful in our ideological work, so we firmly carried out thoroughgoing, meticulous ideological education. Before the work of vacating leading cadres from the housing began, the city party committee convened a mobilization meeting to provide ideological stimulus. After this, they organized everyone to study the "Party Constitution," the "Guiding Principles" and the "Open Letter" from the Commission for the Inspection of Discipline. They then used the 8 obligations for party members and the 6 conditions for leading party cadres given in the Party Constitution and the demands made by the open letter from the Commission for the Inspection of Discipline to sincerely make examinations and comparisons, conduct criticism and self-criticism, and discuss the qualifications for being a Communist Party member. They moreover asked everyone to not only use housing standards to judge if they occupied excess housing, but to moreover use political standards to judge whether or not they were estranged from the masses. They also printed up "Zhu Long Persuades Empress Dowager Zhao" and provided everyone with copies to examine and make personal comparisons. Thus, everyone learned deep lessons and strengthened their ideology to be public servants, and serve the people, and it heightened consciousness of rectifying unhealthy tendencies. Many comrades attended study classes in the daytime and in the evenings they held family meetings to educate their family members and children and provided many moving examples of wives, husbands and children all working together, discussing the issues and deciding themselves to vacate the housing.

The Spirit of Unremitting Effort to Vacate Excess Housing

[Question] What was done in the case of rampant individualism where people refused to vacate the excess housing?

Answer: The city committee was not at all mild or yielding and they used a spirit of unremitting effort in vacating these people from the excess housing. The city party committee clearly announced that it would not deal lightly with those who obstructed matters or who had facts they wished to conceal. In the study class we carried out criticism by name for those units with severe problems and harsh mass reactions. Moreover, during the meeting we read out the materials which the masses had uncovered in investigating these facts. The comrades who were unwilling to vacate were then asked to vacate the excess amount of housing by

a certain date. This created an irresistible force for vacating people from excess housing. Those who dared to remain obstinate, talked about "realities," were involved in bad situations and yet refused to correct their errors were dealt with severely, as we definitely would not allow them to make some minor self-criticism and then spend a life in comfort.

Three Principles, Three Methods and Four Stages

[Question] What other concrete methods did you use in the task of vacating the excess housing?

[Answer] In the actual work of vacating, the guiding ideology of our city committee was: firmly uphold the principles, maintain the policies, and avoid arbitrary uniformity. We were able to strictly and truly rectify the unhealthy trend and were able to positively and firmly resolve the actual problem. The city committee considered the city-wide situation of severe housing shortages, and they also realized that they could not permit egalitarianism, so they followed upper level policy and unified city-wide actual conditions in formulating housing standards for all levels of cadres. The housing that a cadre obtained for his children was all grouped under the cadre's housing standard. There is a broad borderline between the handling of unhealthy tendencies before and after the promulgation of the "Guiding Principles," but as far as occupying excess housing is concerned, the timing of the "Guiding Principles" is immaterial and all such housing must be vacated. A few cadres who have excess housing protest that they have many children and many people in the household so that vacating would cause hardships. We upheld the three principles of "compressing, separating and getting by." Compressing means that the cadre should "be selfless" and advocate that parents and children live together so that they can meet the standards. Separating means that taking into consideration the cadre's family size, generations and number of males and females there should be a separation of the family based on the housing standards. Getting by means that on the one hand the cadre is allowed to have suitable housing and on the other hand this should not go against mass objections. We also carried out the three methods: 1. In all cases of excess housing where vacating was possible it was done immediately, especially when unmarried cadre children occupied excess housing. Where authority was used to obtain housing for non-residents and where housing was occupied by force, it had to be vacated immediately even if it fell within standards. For married cadre children occupying housing in excess of two rooms the eviction proceeded in accordance with the cadre's housing standard and the means used to obtain the housing. Where cadre children occupied the 1st and 2nd floors and old cadres occupied the 3rd and 4th floors the proper adjustments were made. 2. In cases where compression, separation and getting by wouldn't work and where it still was not possible to vacate the housing, the rent for the excess portion was then

rule 1. 3. When housing should have been vacated but wasn't and where there was refusal to vacate then the rent was increased, and severe cases were also handed over for disciplinary action.

To guarantee that the work of vacating took place, the city party committee established a vacating office headed up by a city party committee deputy secretary and a deputy mayor. Each department, institute, committee, office, ward and bureau also established separate vacating leadership teams. Under the leadership of the city party committee and all levels of party committees, they concretely organized and carried out the work of vacating the excess housing. Vacating houses and apartments took place in four stages: the first was for each person to write down their housing situation and express their views on vacating excess housing; the second was mass criticism and views from each unit; the third was for the department teams to vacate excess housing and for departmental responsible persons to make investigations and present reports; the fourth was for the city party committee's office to vacate excess housing to examine and revise these reports.

Baoding is Revitalized and has High Hopes

Question: What views do you have on this instance of rectifying this unhealthy tendency in housing construction and distribution?

Answer: Rectification of this unhealthy tendency in housing construction and distribution improved relations between the party and the masses and the cadres and the masses, stimulated cadre and mass enthusiasm, made a turn for the better in the social mood, promoted production and all other work, and showed a clear-cut improvement in city-wide economic conditions for the month of May. I was only recently transferred to work in Baoding and had thought there were some very difficult problems here, so I felt that this was going to be a heavy burden. I was quite surprised that the rectification of this unhealthy tendency in housing construction and distribution had such quick results and that so many leading cadres were transformed so quickly. This shows that the great majority of party members and cadres are good and that there is great hope for rectifying party spirit and revitalizing Baoding. Our city party committee has resolved to continue in this and to make an effort to implement a turn for the better in the city-wide party style, so that the whole province and the whole country can quickly witness the emergence of a new Baoding.

11582
CSO: 4005/959

NORTH REGION

HEBEI RIBAO 'PUTTING BOLDNESS ABOVE EVERYTHING'

HK310654 Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 15 Aug 83 p 2

[Article by Gao Zhanxiang [7559 0594 4382]: "It Is Necessary To Set Up a Leadership Group Which Puts Boldness Above Everything"]

[Text] "It is necessary to set up a leadership group which puts boldness above everything." This extremely important idea, first put forward by Comrade Deng Xiaoping in a speech at a meeting of key enterprises of the national defense industry on 3 August 1975, has been emphasized time and again. At present, the conscientious grasping and implementing of this idea will be of important practical guiding significance in making a success of the reform of the organizational structure, properly readjusting and building leading bodies at various levels, arousing revolutionary spirit, and vigorously developing Hebei.

Whether or not various departments can build a leading body, which puts boldness above everything and accords with the demands of the four modernizations, has a direct bearing on the success and failure of the socialist cause, and the rise and decline of the country. After conscientiously studying "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," reviewing the process of our country in achieving the great historical transition, and linking up the building of leading bodies at various levels with actual conditions in work at present, I am more profoundly impressed by this point. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the CPC Central Committee has led the whole party as well as people throughout the country to emancipate the mind, bring order out of chaos, and shift the focus of work, creatively worked out a set of policies and principles for socialist modernization suited to national conditions in China, and fully demonstrated the revolutionary courage and resourcefulness of the proletarian political party. Comrade Deng Xiaoping in particular can indeed be called an outstanding representative of seeking truth from facts, and a glorious example of putting boldness above everything. Just think, if the CPC Central Committee had not judged the hour and seized the situation, put boldness above everything, and taken a clear-cut stand in leading the people of the whole country to break through one obstruction after another and keep on advancing along the Marxist course, how could we have the excellent situation of stability and unity of today, and how could we create a new situation in the four modernizations?!

After the correct ideological line and political line have been determined by our party, the organizational question, especially the proper building of leading bodies at various levels, appears particularly important. Comrade Deng Xiaoping has profoundly expounded this question from the plane of long-term peace and order for the country. He pointed out that if we do not pay attention to selecting those younger people with drive and ability and put them into leading bodies at various levels and ask them to shoulder heavy responsibility, "no matter how correct the whole set of policies and principles of the party and the government may be, or what achievements have been made in work, we can only watch helplessly if organs of the party and the government lack vitality and efficiency, correct policies and principles cannot be fully implemented, and greater achievements cannot be made in work," and in that case, "not only is there no hope for the four modernizations, but the question of the fall of the party and the state is also involved, and our party and state might quietly fall." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 352) This brilliant exposition of Comrade Deng Xiaoping has profoundly expounded the role of leading bodies in the four modernizations, and at the same time, also expressed the high sense of responsibility of the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries toward the party and the revolutionary cause.

The CPC Central Committee has called for making the leading bodies more revolutionary, younger in average age, and professionally more competent. It not only put forth demands on the leading bodies in such fields as ideology, age, and intellectual composition, but also included such extremely vital contents as drive, pioneering spirit, and courage to uphold principles and truth. Under the new historical condition, the new situation requires our leading bodies at various levels to have a strong sense of principle as well as a completely revolutionary spirit, the courage and resourcefulness of making innovations, and the militant style of meeting difficulties head-on. If a leading body does not put boldness above everything but puts fear above everything, it will be very dependable, follow rules and orders, and will only indiscriminately copy, transplant, and transmit everything but will neither express its own views nor transgress bounds. It will "not speak out when problems are encountered, and make a detour when contradictions appear," but will hide and procrastinate if possible. It will be afraid to check and bother about unhealthy tendencies, make concessions to avoid trouble, and display a total lack of principle. It will adopt a policy of appeasement and accommodation to the disgusting things that are injurious to the four modernizations and harmful to the interests of the people, and will not struggle against them. It will not be able to express a clear-cut attitude on issues of right and wrong, always trim sails to the wind, vacillate to the left and right, behave obsequiously, and will not dare to uphold principles. Such a weak and ineffective leading body, which puts fear above everything, not only cannot become a strong leadership core, but will also become a stumbling block to socialist modernization. Comrade Xiaoping in the article "Things Must Be Straightened Out in All Fields," called on us: "We must take firm resolve to put boldness above everything." Why does Comrade Xiaoping place such strong emphasis on putting boldness above everything? We have learned from practice that if we want to strike down factionalism, it will not work without a leading body which puts boldness above everything. If we want to check unhealthy tendencies, it will not work without a leading body which puts boldness above everything. If we want to eliminate old abuses, it will not work

without a leading body which puts boldness above everything. If we want to create a new situation, it is even more important to have a leading body which puts boldness above everything. Therefore, the building of a leading body which puts boldness above everything is the demand of the party, the wish of the people, and the requirement of carrying out various reforms and creating a new situation in work.

[HK310656] To build a leading body which puts boldness above everything, we must first establish the standpoint of using people of the new period, and promote people who are good at thinking things through, have the courage to make innovations and who dare to shoulder responsibility, to leading posts. "To make revolution and carry out construction, there must be a group of path-breakers who dare to think, explore, and make innovations." ("Selected Works," p. 133) Comrade Xiaoping pointed out: "The leading body of a department or an enterprise cannot be afraid of this and that. We must find some people who are not afraid of being toppled into the leading body." (Ibid., p. 2) He also said: "We must pay close attention to solving the question of the leading body. We must find comrades who are able to do things and are not afraid to carry out work, and place them in charge." (ibid., p. 25) This should be an important guiding idea for us in selecting qualified people and building leading bodies at various levels. For a time, some of our leading comrades were invariably fond of so-called "obedient," "good at exercising self-restraint," "dependable," and "smooth and polished" people when selecting cadres. As a matter of fact, the greatest weakness of such cadres is that they lack the spirit of putting boldness above everything. The introduction of such cadres into the leading body often resulted in not very great drive, inadequate pioneering spirit, and lack of initiative in creating a new situation. For the sake of the flourishing development of the cause, our selection of cadres must be based on the overall needs of the four modernizations, and we must put the stress on these three conditions: Whether or not they can work; whether or not they have the courage to work; and whether or not they are working for the people and socialism. We must boldly promote those cadres with daring and resourcefulness, vigor, keen enterprise, and independent view, and entrust them with important tasks. Even though these comrades have often been unfairly tagged with such labels as "strong individuality," "impetuosity," and "slight arrogance," we must also not take this into account. Only by getting rid of old conventions and stale standpoints in the use of people, and establishing the standpoint of using people of the new period can we select those outstanding young cadres with ability, vitality, and resourcefulness for leading bodies at various levels, and can we greatly enhance the effectiveness of leading bodies at various levels and meet the needs of the new period and the new tasks.

To build a leading body which puts boldness above everything, the leading members must support, understand, and help each other, and become a strong, united, and militant collective. To succeed in this point, first, the number one man must be "tough." Whether or not a squad is tough depends primarily on the fighters in the front row. Napoleon said: "A unit of lambs led by a lion can defeat a unit of lions led by a lamb." These words are not without reason, and they obliquely explain the importance of the person in charge. Only if the number one man puts boldness above everything and takes the lead in being tough can the whole squad become tough. Second, the squad must be

internally united, support and help each other, and must not sabotage or impede each other in work. Those who are envious of ability and virtue, who find faults, and who cannot help but only know how to sabotage, and those leading members who sap the combat effectiveness of the leading body, must be severely criticized, and even transferred or dismissed. Otherwise, the combat effectiveness of the leading body will be affected, and it will have difficulty in putting boldness above everything. Third, every member of the leading body must have the courage to independently shoulder responsibility. Lenin pointed out: "To refer to collegiate methods as an excuse for irresponsibility is a most dangerous evil." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 24) Comrade Xiaoping said: "We must encourage the leading cadres to boldly shoulder responsibility. This, and changing the individual arbitrary system, are two entirely different matters, and cannot be confused." ("Selected Works," p 300) There is a tendency at present to use collective leadership as an excuse for shifting everything to others and not shouldering responsibility. Individual arbitrariness is wrong, and individual courage in shouldering responsibility should be vigorously encouraged. Some of the people are always behaving like "volleyball players" and "football players," and they either push back or pass the ball whenever possible and just muddle along. Proceeding from the interests of the people, these comrades should quickly become conscious. If they do not regain their consciousness, we should not still allow this kind of person to occupy leading positions. Only if every member of the leading body can attend to his duties and shoulder responsibility can it develop into a militant collective able to take resolute action and put boldness above everything.

[AF3/0658] To succeed in putting boldness above everything, we must emancipate ourselves from the fetters of the word fear. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "Some of the people are afraid. To be afraid in the past, is still quite reasonable,.... Now the CPC Central Committee is supporting the localities, and the upper level is supporting the lower level. If they are still afraid, they can only blame themselves, blame the waning of their revolutionary will, and blame the wanting of revolutionary zeal." ("Selected Works," p 25) What are they actually afraid of? They are mainly afraid of the following conditions: They are afraid of offending people, losing votes, and being dismissed from office. As they are not honest and upright, they are afraid that bothering about other people might result in being rectified themselves. There is another thing they are afraid of, and that is, they are afraid of the unhealthy tendency in society which makes no distinction between merits and faults, and confuses right and wrong. Just as Comrade Xiaoping pointed out: "...those who do their work well are attacked instead, and those who do nothing and show no initiative can become 'roly-polies.'" (Ibid., p 312) Behind the word fear, the word selfishness is always concealed. If one ignores the interests of the people and the party, one naturally will not be bold. Comrade Mao Zedong once said that man must have some spirit. Comrade Zhou Enlai also energetically proposed: "Be bold in thought, words, and actions." This requires us to have the lofty quality as well as indomitable revolutionary spirit of willingly sacrificing personal interests for the interests of the people. For party members, and leading cadres at various levels in particular, this is the minimum demand. If they cannot decide on a matter that should be decided or do a thing that ought to be done, but are afraid of the wolf ahead and the tiger

subject, and are full of apprehensions, how can they overcome the difficulties in creating a new situation? Therefore our cadres contingent at present should cultivate these four kinds of spirit, which are: The initiative spirit of moving ahead in spite of difficulties, the dedicated spirit of making every effort in fighting, the vigorous spirit of making every effort to keep on fighting in spite of repeated setbacks, and the innovative spirit of seeking reform. With this kind of mental state, our cause will vigorously advance and develop.

In order to put boldness above everything, the leading body must be guided by Marxist-Leninist principles. Revolutionaries are completely different from rash people. The putting of boldness above everything we refer to is definitely not the kind of rash action which ignores objective law and liberates itself from the guidance of Marxist principles, but the ability of revolutionary courage and insight as well as scientific spirit guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. There is a popular saying: "Boldness in execution stems from superb skill." The reason some people are afraid is not due to consideration for themselves. An important reason is because their theoretical foundation is not solid, and their working ability is not strong. They do not have a clear picture in their minds or a sound foundation, and when problems are encountered, they can neither make a decision nor think of a method. Facts have informed people that if a leading member does not intensively carry out investigations, or understand theoretical thought, it is very difficult for him to become firm and resolute, and produce first-rate work. Without the guidance of revolutionary principles, he will be like "a sightless man riding a blind horse across a dark pond at midnight." Under this kind of situation, the more boldly he charges the more he will get into trouble. The reason Comrade Xiaoping can, with indomitable revolutionary spirit, look far ahead and aim high, thoroughly grasp the situation, and play the role of a helmsman at crucial junctures in history and before extremely complex and vital issues, is because of his superb Marxist level as well as revolutionary courage and resourcefulness. Therefore, we must keep on strengthening our understanding of Marxist principles, so that our world outlook and methodology will strike root in the thick theoretical foundation, master the theoretical weapon, learn scientific thinking, and have a thorough grasp of the spiritual essence of party policies and principles. Only thus can we keep on improving our ability to observe and deal with problems, overcome the word fear, put boldness above everything, and advance with an irresistible force in work.

[HK310700] To succeed in putting boldness above everything, we must seriously and resolutely solve problems under the premise of understanding the situation. The boldness we refer to is not a spontaneous, voluntary drive, but a kind of strict work style of seeking truth from facts and paying attention to work efficiency. Here, understanding the situation is the prerequisite to solving problems. If we "do not understand the situation but have great determination," the greater the determination, the greater will be the work. This requires us to adhere to the ideological line of seeking truth from facts, going deep into reality, making investigations and study, and understanding the actual situation, before we can have a clear picture and resolutely carry out work. Those who have only a scanty knowledge of

the situation, and do not look thoroughly into the ideas, mood, aspirations and demands of the broad masses of cadres and people, will inevitably become indecisive and put fear above everything. We must advocate a strict and correct scientific attitude of seeking truth from facts, make a determined effort in correctly assessing the situation, and establish boldness on the basis of grasping the truth. Moreover, there is also an important matter, and that is, we must, within the limits permitted by the line, policies, and principles of the CPC Central Committee, boldly proceed from the actual conditions of our own locality and department, voluntarily think out problems, and creatively develop work. At present, some of the cadres have developed a bad kind of lazy habit. They never use their head to think about problems. They always look to the "red letter documents," and follow the directions of the upper level in matters big and small. They have no definite view of their own, and do not bring forth new ideas. This is not actually carrying out the instructions of the upper level, but a lazy man's way of doing things and a passive way of engaging in slow-downs. This runs counter to the creative spirit of putting boldness above everything.

Under the tempering of the long-term teachings of the party as well as revolutionary practice, large numbers of leading members who dare to make revolution, and are good at making revolution, have emerged from our cadre contingent. In the future, we should readjust even more the leading bodies at various levels in accordance with the principle of putting boldness above everything, and call on all members of the new leading bodies to bestir themselves, so that the cadre contingent throughout the province will have stronger and richer fighting spirit, and lead the broad masses of people to go all out and vigorously develop Hebei.

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NORTH REGION

ZHU DE'S FORMER SECRETARY SPEAKS ON ZHU'S WORKS

HE240837 Beijing BEIJING WANBAO in Chinese 2 Aug 83 p 1

[Report by Weng Kaiwang [5040 7030 2598]: "Valuable Spiritual Wealth--Liao Gallong on 'Selected Works of Zhu De'"]

[Text] Everyone is familiar with the revolutionary life of Comrade Zhu De. However, many people do not know that he also wrote many important works which had far-reaching influence on the Chinese revolution. On the occasion of the publication of the "Selected Works of Zhu De," I had an interview with Comrade Liao Gallong, deputy director of the Commission for Connecting party Historical Data of the CPC Central Committee and former personal secretary of Comrade Zhu De. Here below is his impression of Comrade Zhu De.

Comrade Liao Gallong said: "The mass viewpoint and the mass line of all from the people, all for the people, and all relying on the people runs through the 'Selected Works of Zhu De' like a red thread." In the "Selected Works," there is a deeply moving article entitled "In Memory of My Mother," (written in 1944) which reads: "Now mother has parted from me.... Mother was an ordinary woman. She was only one among hundreds of millions of working people in China. However, it is these hundreds of millions of people that have created, and are creating the history of China. In what way can I repay the debt of gratitude to my mother? I will continue to be loyal to our nation and people, to be devoted to the CPC--the hope of our nation and people, and to strive for the happiness of those people who are leading lives like my mother." Comrade Liao Gallong said: The materialist philosophy of history based on the understanding that history is created by the masses of people and the feeling of sharing weal and woe with the people penetrate through the whole "Selected Works."

Comrade Zhu De was one of the first leaders of our party to attach importance to armed struggle. He made outstanding contributions to the founding of the people's army and the victory of the people's war--the theory of army building and the strategy and tactics of our army to which he had made his contributions are an essential component part of Mao Zedong Thought. Two years ago, an old guerrilla in southern Hunan donated a book by Comrade Zhu De, "On Anti-Japanese Guerrilla War," (written in early 1938) a valuable treasure which he had buried underground for years, to the central office party Literature Research Center. According to the old man, it was by following the guidelines provided in the book that the guerrillas fought the

anti-Japanese guerrilla war in those years. It is incredibly difficult. Comrade Liao Gailing said: "The works of Comrade Zhu De have their own special characteristics. The language is simple and vivid and the words carry profound implications. For example, to emphasize collective heroism and to oppose individual heroism, he said: 'Fighters are the ones who actually take part in the combat. They are courageous enough to make great sacrifices. Then, how can you attribute all the merits to yourself alone? As for me, I am only the representative of the PLA. My ability is limited and what I can do is limited as well. Such thinking, which can be found everywhere in the "Selected Works," is of practical and profound significance. When talking about these things, we must help but recall such stories related to Comrade Zhu De as "The Carrying Pole of Zhu De," "Zhu De Offering His Horse," and so on. In the "Selected Works," Comrade Zhu De repeatedly emphasized the principle of the "exemplary role of the commander" and that of "concerted efforts of commanders and fighters." Some foreign reporters said that Comrade Zhu De looked like a "kindly old grandpa." And these are precisely the features of Comrade Zhu De's art of leadership.

[1981/1989] According to Comrade Liao Gailing, in the days when he worked with Comrade Zhu De, the latter always spent several months every year in various places around the country (according to statistics compiled by Comrade Liao Gailing, Comrade Zhu De paid a visit to 27 provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions throughout the country after liberation) Comrade Zhu De used to say: "I am old now. I would like to go everywhere and report to the central authorities what I see and hear before I cannot move around." He feared loneliness in his trips. In 1958, when visiting the Yuman oil field, he insisted on climbing up to the highest place in the oil field. Comrade Liao Gailing said: "Going deep into the realities of life, always depending on the masses, and proceeding in everything from the mass line, Comrade Zhu De contributed many important ideas on our country's socialist economic construction. He put forth the viewpoint that stresses the development of a diversified economy in agriculture and the handicraft industry, and objected to turning the material exchange system between urban and rural areas through many channels, into a uniform state-owned commerce, and advocated the equalization of economic exchange with foreign countries, and so on. All these viewpoints are still of practical significance today." Comrade Zhu De had an early awareness of the problems of the "Great Leap Forward." He objected to opening public canteens in rural areas from the very beginning, holding that such a practice would cause terrible waste and inconvenience to the daily life of hundreds of millions of peasants. At that time, Comrade Liao Gailing was of different opinion to Comrade Zhu De. Comrade Zhu De said: "You are an intellectual, you only think of the function of public canteens in mobilizing household labor, but never know the serious effect of such a practice!" The article entitled "Opinions on the Problem of Opening Public Canteens in Rural Areas" collected in the "Selected works," is in fact an edited version based on the transcripts of Comrade Zhu De's talks with the responsible people in different units in different places and his letters to Chairman Mao during the period from February 1959 to May 1961 (before and after the Lushan meeting).

collected in "Selected Works of Zhu De" are 65 articles (of which 32 have never been published before) which run to about 250,000 characters. Comrade Liao Gailong acclaimed the book as "one of the qualified Marxist works with Chinese characteristics." Dear readers, here we cannot make a more comprehensive introduction to the "Selected Works" as space is limited. We believe that all readers will be glad to look through the "Selected Works of Zhu De" for themselves and to acquire the spiritual wealth which General Commander Zhu left to them.

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NORTH REGION

HEBEI: NEW CULTURAL DEPARTMENT CREATES 'NEW SITUATION'

HK230929 Shijiazhuang Hebei Provincial Service in Mandarin 0400 GMT 15 Aug 83

[Text] In the course of institutional reform, the provincial bureaus of culture, cultural relics, and publication were merged into the provincial cultural department. Since its establishment, the new leadership group has acted vigorously, speedily, and boldly in performing and regulating work and in undertaking responsibility, thus opening up a new situation in a very short time.

First, they listened to background reports on the three former bureaus and stressed understanding the major problems left over from the past and the need for them to be continuously solved by the new leadership group. Then, they adopted eight measures for opening up a new situation in cultural work, which were announced at the meeting to celebrate the establishment of the provincial cultural department. Later, they merged the offices, personnel divisions, and institution party committees by causing them to handle official business, administer their functions and powers, and give scope to their role as one.

Since its official commencement of business on 1 June, the provincial cultural department has chiefly performed the following six tasks:

1. Straighten out the guiding ideology, stress reaching political unanimity with the CPC Central Committee, and resolutely obey the leadership of the provincial CPC committee. On the first day after starting its official business, the provincial cultural department was confronted with a problem, namely, the cinemas in Baoding City and the No 1 workers' cultural palace had committed a serious political error when showing a documentary film. After learning of this matter, the provincial cultural department immediately instructed the provincial film company to find out the facts and to adopt measures for averting the recurrence of this incident. At an emergency meeting attended by the managers of the prefectural and city film companies, which was convened by the provincial film company, An Yaoguang, chief of the provincial cultural department, severely criticized the political incident, pointing out that this reflected the lack of a high sense of responsibility and dedication to work and was a manifestation of slack organization and discipline. Later, the provincial cultural department transmitted the summary of this meeting to the cultural bureaus in various prefectures and cities. To reach political unanimity with the CPC Central Committee, it is imperative

1. The first task of the new group was to establish a new leadership. The new group was formed in the first half of 1954, and its main task was to establish a new leadership. The new group was formed in the first half of 1954, and its main task was to establish a new leadership.

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of certain responsible persons of the former publication bureau, who had taken advantage of the institutional reform to provide jobs for their children. They immediately held a meeting of the leading party group of the former publication bureau to investigate the matter. When they realized that the main problem lay in the individual members of the former leading party group and the CPC committee of the fine arts publishing house, they lost no time in holding a meeting of the CPC committee of the fine arts publishing house, demanding that the sons and daughters of cadres who were transferred from factories to government organs from March to May this year be returned to their original units. At this time, some persons intentionally posed some difficult problems by reproving the members of the leadership group to their face. Some parents and children remained unconvinced. Some children wrote letters to leading comrades of the provincial CPC committee or asked others to put in a good word for them. Some leaders of the former units failed to understand the matter and had misgivings in receiving the children back. Under these circumstances, the new leadership group assumed a firm attitude and resolutely acted in accordance with the requirement of the provincial CPC committee. After conducting a lot of ideological work, the four children have all been returned to their original units.

5. Grasp the focus of work. The provincial cultural department consists of 35 units at the section level with upwards of 4,600 workers and staff members. Under the conditions characterized by wide scope and numerous tasks, the new leadership group grasped the main contradictions and performed some key work. They firmly grasped the following work: the institutional reform of the department, the reform of the performance and artistic organizations directly under the provincial authorities, the cultural work of the masses, education in patriotism, and the production of spiritual products.

6. Extensively unfold a drive for civility units and individuals. On 27 July, the new leadership group drew up plans at a mobilization meeting of cadres at the section chief level and key professional workers, setting forth seven requirements for civility units and six requirements for civility individuals. It also made arrangements for the specific methods and requirements for unfolding this drive from July to December.

Now the slogan "enhance enthusiasm to reinvigorate Hebei" and the requirements of learning from, catching up with, and striving to be the advanced have started to be implemented in the practical work of the provincial cultural department.

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NORTH REGION

SHANXI BLOCKS HOUSING ABUSE, PROPERTY GRABBERS

JK240458 Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO In Chinese 23 Jul 83 p 1

[Excerpts] The discipline inspection commission under the provincial CPC committee and the party committee of the provincial level organs held a forum from 20 to 22 July to discuss discipline inspection work, to relay and implement the guideline of the meeting sponsored by the Discipline Inspection Commission of the CPC Central Committee at Dalian City, to sum up and exchange experiences gained in blocking the two malpractices of overly occupying houses and grabbing the state's property, and to map out a work plan for the latter half of this year. The forum urged party organizations at all levels in the provincial level organs to overcome various obstructions, to march forward by disregarding various difficulties, and to make persistent efforts to resolutely straighten party style in order to do a good job in making preparations for party rectification.

Attending the forum were leading comrades of various units under the provincial level organs and responsible comrades in charge of discipline inspection work and from the party branches of the organs--more than 200 persons in all. At the forum, leading comrades from the provincial light industry department, the provincial chemical industry department, the provincial local coal industry bureau, the provincial post and telecommunication bureau, the provincial farm machine bureau, and the provincial machinery equipment and installation bureau exchanged their experiences gained in the work of correcting the two malpractices.

At the forum, Li Xiuren, deputy secretary of the provincial CPC committee, delivered a speech in which he stated: Earnestly attending to party style is an important task for party committees at all levels. The fact of whether or not leading cadres can uphold principles and wage struggle against malpractices represents one of the signs which can be a test whether or not they fulfill their duty. Of all tasks to accelerate the program of achieving the four modernizations and to achieve three fundamental turns for the better, achieving a turn for the better in party style is a key one. We will no longer tolerate a steadily weakening attitude toward malpractices. Failure to grasp party style and to handle problems in this regard means failure to fulfill one's duty. There are many problems existing in party style and we should deal with them one by one. At present, we should first check the malpractice that is seeking private gains by taking advantage of administrative

ower and that has seriously separated the party from the masses and adversely affected party prestige and relationships between the party and the masses. There are many problems in this regard, such as privately dividing public property by taking advantage of conducting organizational reform and occupying excess houses by taking advantage of administrative power, to which the vast number of the people have nursed the most serious grievance.

In his speech, Comrade Li Xiuren put forward the following tasks concerning ways on how to block malpractices: 1) It is necessary to deal with the problem concerning ideology and understanding and to enhance the consciousness of attending to party style with a sense of responsibility. 2) Leading cadres should set themselves examples and take the lead in attending to the work of straightening party style. 3) It is necessary to enforce strictly party discipline and to be clear about rewards and punishments. 4) It is necessary to adopt a resolute attitude toward principles and to adopt flexible measures in enforcing policies. 5) In correcting malpractices, it is necessary to conduct work examination before acceptance and to carry out the work through to the end. We will not stop until we reach our goal. 6) Correcting malpractices should depend on organizational guarantees. A good job should be done in consolidating the contingent of personnel in charge of discipline inspection work.

At the forum, the Discipline Inspection Commission of the provincial CPC committee put forward tasks in this regard for the latter half of this year in line with the guideline of the Dalian meeting sponsored by the Discipline Inspection Commission of the CPC Central Committee and in line with the situation prevailing in the province. The responsible comrades of the party committee of the provincial level organs delivered reports on summing up experience gained in correcting the two malpractices in the first half of this year and on offering work suggestions for the latter half.

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NORTH REGION

SHANXI PROVINCIAL CPC COMMITTEE WORK CONFERENCE HELD

JK291013 Taiwan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 31 Jul 83 p 1

[Summary] The Shanxi Provincial CPC Committee work conference was held in Taiyuan from 23 to 29 July. On the basis of conscientiously relaying and studying the guidelines of speeches delivered by central leading comrades, and keeping in close contact with reality, the conference discussed in particular the issue on how to concentrate efforts on guaranteeing the construction of state key projects, and, centering on this issue, it reviewed and summed up the work done in the first half of the year and studied and made arrangements for various work tasks to be done in the second half of the year.

Attending the conference were standing committee members of the provincial CPC committee, party-member responsible comrades of the provincial people's congress, the provincial government, and the provincial CPPCC committee; former standing committee members of the provincial CPC committee who have already retreated to the second and third lines, former party-member responsible comrades of the provincial people's congress, the provincial government, and the provincial CPPCC committee; various prefectural, city, county, and district CPC committee secretaries, various district administrative commissions and various city mayors, and county and district heads; party committee secretaries, plant chiefs, and managers of various large industrial and mining enterprises; party committee secretaries of various colleges and universities; and principal responsible comrades of provincial-level departments, committees, offices, and bureaus, various mass organizations and press units, totaling some 550 persons.

Li Jizong, secretary of the provincial CPC committee, and Li Xiuren, deputy secretary of the provincial CPC committee, presided over and spoke at the conference in turn. Wang Senhao, deputy secretary of the provincial CPC committee and provincial governor, delivered a report entitled: "Get Mobilized and Concentrate Our Efforts on Guaranteeing the State Key Projects." Wang Kewen, deputy secretary of the provincial CPC committee, and Wang Tingdong, Zhang Changzhen and Zhang Sai, standing committee members of the provincial CPC committee, also delivered speeches.

Comrades attending the conference unanimously held that our province has played a prominent part in the course of carrying out the state's key construction projects. During the Sixth 5-Year Plan period, the state has

concentrated on large and middle-sized construction projects in the province with a total investment of 17 billion yuan--a period in which our province has undertaken the greatest number of state construction projects in the last 30 years and more. In group discussions, through laying out their key construction and support-key construction project tasks which the state has assigned to them, responsible comrades of various prefectures, cities, and counties felt honor and were inspired. They felt filled with work enthusiasm. They maintained that the decision of the party and the state on building Shanxi Province into the state's energy and heavy chemical industrial base has reflected their confidence and trust in the people and leaders at all levels across the province. They said: We will receive this great trust, shoulder this heavy task, and make more contributions.

While discussing and studying ways to fulfill tasks for the second half of the year, the comrades participating in the conference unanimously held that to further enhance the people's initiative in implementing the line, principles, and policies laid down since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and to achieve unceasing new achievements in the practice of building socialism with Chinese characteristics, we must take the lead in studying "The Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping." We must study earnestly, understand the essence of the guidelines and pay attention to summing up experience. Continued efforts must be made to attend to economic work, to strive to raise economic results, and to comprehensively fulfill and overfulfill the province's economic plan.

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NORTH SECTION

SHANXI: LI LIGONG ON DISCIPLINE INSPECTION WORK

48101070 T. L. from SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese (1 AUG 83) p. 1

[Text] "Party committees at all levels should put high in their agenda the work of rectifying party style, strengthen leadership over discipline inspection work, earnestly support discipline inspection cadres in their work, and combine the efforts to correct unhealthy trends with those to make good preparations for comprehensive party consolidation." These were the remarks of Li Ligong, secretary of the provincial party committee, at the provincial discipline inspection work forum on 10 August.

Ligong discussed four issues in his speech at the provincial discipline inspection work forum:

1. Party committees at all levels should first attend to party style and place high in their agenda the work of party style rectification. The party congress called for achieving a fundamental turn for the better in three fields in 5 years. Among the three fields, party style is the key. The efforts to attend to party style should be joined by the whole party and party committees should be the first to attend to it. If this work is not well done, party committees, and firstly their No. 1 leaders, should be held responsible. Yuncheng Prefecture's experiences in party style rectification show that with problems in party style solved, economic construction will be greatly promoted and social conduct greatly improved. If attention were paid merely to economic construction to the neglect of party style, economic work would not be a success, and even if it were promoted, the situation would be temporary. Without waging a struggle against unhealthy trends, the enthusiasm of the masses of cadres and people will not be increased. At present, in some localities, there exists a phenomenon in which "bad people are arrogant, good people are bullied, activists choke with resentment, and the masses are discouraged." How can the four modernizations be successfully carried out in such a phenomenon? Discipline inspection departments should focus on the party's central tasks when doing their work and should ensure construction of the state key projects. In some places where the key projects are located, unhealthy trends of overcharging the state, claiming benefits from key projects, extracting unwarranted extra fees, and arbitrarily raising prices prevail. With these problems left untalzed, there is no guarantee for the construction of the key projects. Discipline inspection departments should more timely investigation on cases concerning key projects and should handle them strictly.

Party committees at all levels should support their efforts to rectify party style. The Party's mass discipline institutions for comprehensive rectification, such as the "Selected Works of Being Disciplinary" team, have paid attention to party discipline. Correcting unhealthy trends is an important condition for party consolidation. Therefore, these things are closely related to this work. When this work is done successfully, it will contribute to rectifying the situation for party consolidation, sum up experience, and provide a model.

1. Party committees should strengthen the work of discipline inspection departments. Party committees should participate in party style rectification. However, discipline inspection departments should be the main forces to exercise supervision, handle violations, handle cases, and sum up and popularize experience. They have the right to attend to and investigate discipline violations committed by any department and any cadre and even by the party committees at the same level is theirs. This is the duty of discipline inspection departments, the right entrusted them by the party constitution and mass congress. Party committees at all levels should strengthen leadership of discipline inspection work and should particularly successfully lead the work of discipline inspection commissions. Cadres with high party spirit and good workstyle who perform their duties impartially, without prejudice and are bold in and good at waging struggles should be selected to work in discipline inspection departments. Since discipline inspection departments are combat headquarters for the struggles against unhealthy trends, those who are not uphold principles, are afraid of giving criticism, are indifferent, and are overcautious and who are slack, perfunctory, and who are not to be placed in such departments. Party committees at all levels should rectify reports of discipline inspection departments, lead them, examine their work and set forth tasks. Principal responsible comrades in party committees should personally participate in the study of some cases, investigate cases, and in making decisions on the cases.

2. Party committees at all levels should support the work of discipline inspection cadres. Generally speaking, our province's contingent of discipline inspection cadres is good. They have worked diligently and contributed to the rectification of party style. A group of good cadres like Comrade [Name] are excellent. However, we should note that discipline inspection cadres must not only discipline when doing their work. Party committees should support their work and earnestly help them resolve difficulties. Now can err for good cadres who adhere to principles, are bold in waging struggles and resolutely attack people who threaten discipline. Party committees should set against the efforts to correct unhealthy trends. They should also help discipline inspection cadres overcome difficulties. They should support their work and investigating and handling cases. They should not be overestimated or involved in the cases discipline inspection cadres investigate and handling are forbidden to create difficulties, to transfer difficulties onto others, issue false certificates, or to cover up. When investigations are completed, the cases should be handled in a timely manner. The situation of having cases unsettled must not be permitted. They should not be partial in handling cases or being partial in

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NORTH REGION

SHANXI APPROVES NEW LEADING BODIES OF YANBEI, XINZHOU, JINZHONG, JINDONGNAN

GF090811 Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO In Chinese 24 Aug 83 p 1

[Text] With the approval of the Shanxi Provincial CPC Committee, the new leading bodies of the Yanbei, Xinzhou, Jinzhong, and Jindongnan Prefectural CPC Committees were recently organized. Great changes have taken place in the new leading bodies of these four prefectural CPC committees compared with the former ones. The main indications are: The number of persons has been reduced; the average age declined; and the educational level has improved. Encouraging progress was made in making the ranks of cadres more revolutionary, younger in age, better educated, and more professionally competent.

The leading body of the Yanbei Prefectural CPC Committee is composed of 10 persons. Bai Xinghua is secretary and Yan Zanyao, Zhao Shengrong, Zhang Bingfa, and Bai Xiaoyu are deputy secretaries. The number of the new prefectural CPC committee members was reduced from the former 11 to 10 and their average age dropped from the former 60.8 years to 50.7 years. The number of prefectural CPC committee members with a college education increased from 0 to 30 percent.

The leading body of the Xinzhou Prefectural CPC Committee is composed of eight persons. Yan Guanghong is secretary and Liu Yao and Bo Yingxian are deputy secretaries. The number of the new prefectural CPC committee members was reduced from the former 12 to 8 and their average age dropped from the former 54 to 48. Those with a college education increased from 0 to 50 percent.

The new leading body of the Jinzhong Prefectural CPC Committee is composed of nine persons. Li Linguang is secretary and Zhang Ziyi, Hou Guangtian, and Zhang Bairen are deputy secretaries. The new prefectural CPC committee members were reduced from the former 19 to 9 and their average age dropped from 58 to 47. Those with a college education increased from 0 to 23 percent.

The leading body of the Jindongnan Prefectural CPC Committee is composed of seven persons. Qi Ying is secretary and [surname indistinct] Yaoguang and [surname indistinct] Gongzu are deputy secretaries. The new prefectural CPC committee members were reduced from the former 12 to 7, and their average age dropped from 57 to 47. Those with a college education increased from 0 to 28 percent.

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FOURTH PART

STATE LEADERS WRITE INSCRIPTIONS TO CULTURAL TROUPES

REDACTED Hsiao Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mongolia 1966 (MT 31 Aug 66)

Justly, shortly before the Nei Monggol revolutionary cultural troupe mounted on horseback in various autonomous regions and provinces and cities concerned the country to go to Beijing for a joint performance, the state and party leaders, including Deng Yingchao, Yang Jiaqun, and Zhu Muzhi, respectively write inscriptions to the Nei Monggol revolutionary cultural troupe to depend their spirit of going down to pastoral areas and remote border areas to serve the people of various nationalities.

The inscription of Deng Yingchao reads: Adhere to the party's objective, use literature and art, serve the grassroots units, and serve the large number of herdsmen.

The inscription of Yang Jiaqun, minister in charge of the State Nationalities Affairs Commission, reads: The Nei Monggol revolutionary cultural troupe mounted on horseback is a literary propagation troupe created by the Mongolian nationality. Such a troupe is not large but is composed of a strong and capable unit. Meanwhile, with its light and flexible features, such a troupe can perform in various kinds of places. In particular, such a troupe can go down to remote pastoral areas, forest areas, rural areas, plants, PLA units, and frontier guards to conduct literary propagation. We should spare no effort to advance and popularize such troupes. May this joint performance by various autonomous regions and various provinces and cities concerned be successful.

The inscription of Culture Minister Zhu Muzhi reads: The Nei Monggol revolutionary cultural troupe mounted on horseback gallop across the vast land of the motherland. Early in 1966, Comrade Guo Moruo wrote the following inscription for such troupes: Wholeheartedly serve the people under the guidance of Chairman Mao and dedicate the fervent hearts to all herdsmen, all Chinese people, and all the people under oppression across the world.

At present, departments concerned are vigorously preparing for the joint exhibition on the 25th anniversary of the Nei Monggol revolutionary cultural troupe in the region. The inscriptions of the party and state leaders will be a part of the exhibition and will be displayed at the Beijing National Hall and Palace during the period of the joint performance.

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NORTH REGION

NEI MONGGOL HOLDS ORGANIZATIONAL WORK FORUM

OK270846 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 26 Aug 83

[Excerpts] The regional organizational work forum was held in Hohhot recently. The forum relayed the guidelines of the national organizational work forum; took the exposition of organizational work in the selected works of Deng Xiaoping as a guiding ideology in line with the reality of Nei Monggol Region; focused on studying the issues of building leading bodies; insuring that the ranks of the cadres become more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated, and more professionally competent; and strengthening the aged cadre work and self-construction of organizational departments and; through discussions, defined main tasks for the region's organizational work in the days to come.

Participants were inspired to enthusiasm and determined to carry out reforms in order to attain a new level of the region's organizational work and to organizationally insure the creation of a new situation in our region's socialist modernization in a comprehensive manner.

Lin Guqian, deputy secretary of the regional CPC committee, delivered a speech at the forum. (Li Zhangyi), standing committee member of the regional CPC committee and director of the organizational department, made a report at the forum, urging participants to be inspired with enthusiasm, determined to carry out reforms, and make efforts to create a new situation in the region's organizational work.

After reviewing and summing up our region's achievements in organizational work since the third plenum, the forum pointed out: Our current reform is in initial one. Our newly readjusted leading bodies still lag behind compared with the demands of the central authority and the standards of the four modernizations. We especially paid little attention to the construction of [words indistinct] and the ranks of the reserve cadres. Therefore, we should have a sense of urgency and continue to unswervingly attend to restructuring leading bodies.

In line with the demands of the central authority, the forum worked out a plan for building leading bodies and [words indistinct].

The forum also asked participants to achieve the following tasks:

1. On the premise of insuring that the ranks of the cadres are revolutionary, we should unswervingly promote cadres and install leading bodies.

2. We should further emancipate our minds, widen our field of vision, ceaselessly eliminate the prejudice against intellectuals, and use various ways to promote excellent young and middle-aged cadres with different specialties, and the ability to create a new situation. Attention should also be paid to promoting minority nationality cadres, women cadres, and reserve cadres.

3. We should enhance our sense of urgency, build [words indistinct], realize the goal of building leading bodies at and above the banner and county.

4. In a planned manner, prevent the reoccurrence of the ranks [words indistinct] in average age, and gradually attain the normalization of forming a ladder-shaped age structure of leading bodies.

5. We should achieve cooperation between the new cadres and the old cadres, continuously strengthen the self-construction of new leading bodies, and form a collective with a spirit of solidarity and militancy.

The program stressed the further achievement of the old cadre work, to implement the policy of giving proper political and living treatment to old cadres, and the bringing of the function of old cadres into full play.

As for insuring that the leading bodies and the ranks of the cadres become more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated, and more professionally competent and to create a new situation in organizational work, organizational departments at all levels take on a task of extreme importance. Therefore, organizational departments at all levels should strengthen self-construction, firmly foster an idea of serving reforms, and ceaselessly improve the level of organizational work. We should greatly improve and strengthen the ideological style of work, methods of leadership, professional level, and [words indistinct] so as to suit the demands of new situations and new tasks.

001: 005/1162

WORTH REVIEW

NEI MONGOLIA: NEI MONGOL REGIONAL PARTY RECTIFICATION

RECEIVED: 9 March 1960 NEI MONGOL Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 27 APR 60

Summary: After 3 months' efforts, Nei Mongol has basically accomplished the party rectification work, carried out on seven fronts on a trial basis, and achieved the desired results.

In line with the decisions of the regional CPC Committee, 11 units, including the party and government organs in the League's Chifeng County, the commercial bureau, supply and marketing cooperative, (Dangye) cigarette and liquor company and food product company in Hiren League, (Gao-han-ta-zhang) company in Chifeng League's Qianqi Yilai Qian Banner, Nei Mongol teachers' college, cotton electrical machinery plant, (Weilan) Commune in Bayanour League's Bad (Zhang) Banner, (Xiao) public security subbureau under Huhhot City and the staff group of the Huhhot City Public Security Bureau, successively began to carry out the party rectification work on a trial basis from the beginning of 1959 March.

In the past 3 months, these units conscientiously implemented the guidelines of the directives of the party Central Committee on the party rectification work on a trial basis. In accordance with the unified plan of the regional CPC Committee, under the leadership of relevant party rectification and in line with different specialties of all fronts and actual conditions of all units, they implemented the principles and policies of the party Central Committee and the regional CPC Committee on the party rectification work on a trial basis and tried to find out favorable experiences in rectifying the party under the new situation.

In the practice of rectifying the party, these units persisted in the principle of proceeding from reality and seeking truth from facts and basically made a movement in respect to and accurately charging against party organizations and the ranks of party members. With regard to guiding ideology, they pursued an operation on ideological level, attended to ideological remolding work and concentrated on rectifying the party but not the person. With regard to methods, they persisted in the principle of [word] [word], stressed that leaders should take the initiative in enlightenment and self-rectification, conscientiously carried out criticism and self-criticism, were not in a hurry to take action and tried to take gradual and reliable methods so as not to have bad consequences. With regard to organization,

and the individual's risk of infection is β (assumed to be β_{max} for $\theta = 1$ and β_{min} for $\theta = 0$). The individual's probability of contracting the disease is β (assumed to be β_{max} for $\theta = 1$ and β_{min} for $\theta = 0$). The individual's risk of infection is β (assumed to be β_{max} for $\theta = 1$ and β_{min} for $\theta = 0$). The individual's risk of infection is β (assumed to be β_{max} for $\theta = 1$ and β_{min} for $\theta = 0$).

1. From the past few decades, the number of people who are interested in the study of the human mind has increased. This is due to the fact that the study of the human mind is a very interesting and challenging field of study. It is a field that has many different branches and sub-fields, and it is a field that is constantly evolving. The study of the human mind is a very important field of study, and it is a field that is very relevant to our lives. It is a field that is very interesting and challenging, and it is a field that is constantly evolving. The study of the human mind is a very important field of study, and it is a field that is very relevant to our lives. It is a field that is very interesting and challenging, and it is a field that is constantly evolving.

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On 1999-01-16, I left a 14-minute voicemail message and left a 10-minute message with a 14-minute message of my responsibilities for the coming day. I left a 10-minute voicemail message for the party stating that I was a busy person and could not find it for the responsive party easily at the day.

NORTH REGION

SOCIETY OF FOREIGN PHILOSOPHICAL HISTORY MEETS IN HOHHOT

REUTERS, Hohhot Nei Mongol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 6 Sep 83

[Excerpt] The first annual meeting of the All-China Society of Foreign Philosophical History opened in Hohhot on 5 September. On the afternoon of 4 September, Zhou Hui, first secretary of the regional CPC committee, extended his congratulations to the meeting on behalf of the regional CPC committee and the regional people's government and received some responsible comrades participating in the meeting. (Wang Zifeng), executive director of the All-China Society of Foreign Philosophical History, presided over the opening ceremony of the annual meeting. Wu En, standing committee member of the regional CPC committee and director of its propaganda department, delivered a speech on behalf of the regional CPC committee and the regional people's government.

Chen Decheng, director of the All-China Society of Foreign Philosophical History, made the work report of the society. (Lu Xuntong), deputy president of the China Academy of Social Sciences, made a report on the situation in our country's delegation participated in the world philosophical meeting. A congratulatory letter sent to the meeting by Professor (He Lin), Secretary of the All-China Society of Foreign Philosophical History was also read at the meeting.

More than 300 personnel engaged in philosophical theories, experts, scholars, and professors from 29 provinces, cities, and autonomous regions, as well as from the relevant central units.

According to the party's Marxist ideological line and the principle of inheriting, developing, and creating schools of thought, centering on the issues of the methodology and the objectives for researching foreign history, the meeting participants will sum up historical experiences, discuss the practical situations, and discuss ways to push forward the research of Foreign History.

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PROTESTANT SEMINARY IN CHINA--The Chinese Protestant Church wishes to build up a newer third theological seminary in Peking. The theological educational institute about to be formed currently has seven students and its principals have aimed at securing the replacement of the ministers of the country's northern territories in the future. At the first theological seminary, opened in 1981, currently 72 students are studying. [Text] [Budapest EVANGELICAL ELET in Hungarian 24 Jul 83 p 1] 12401

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NEW AREA 2 P10110

NEW AREA 11 GIVEN TO FAMILY PLANNING

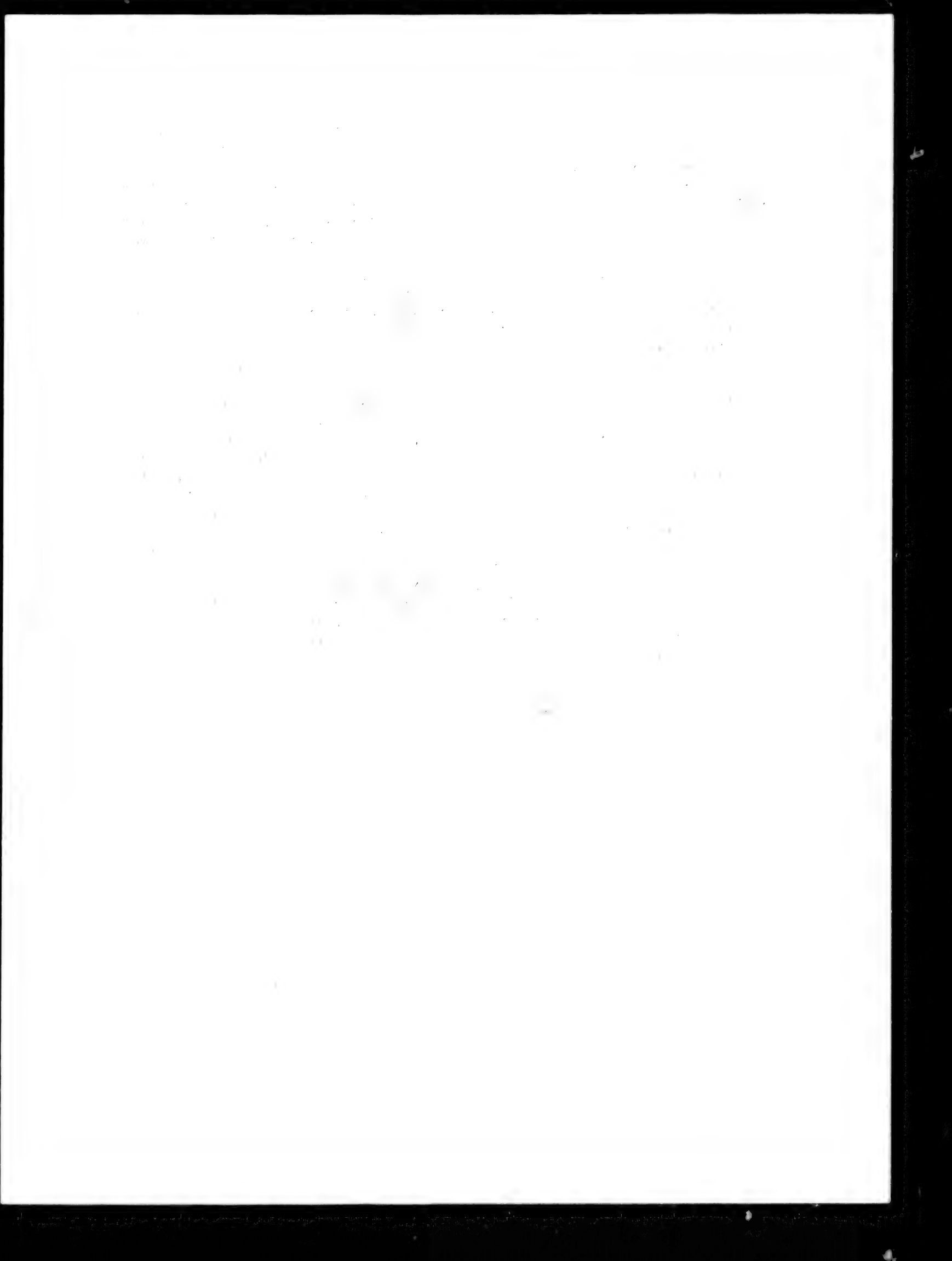
Qiongyang LIAONING PIBAO in Chinese 31 May 83 p 1

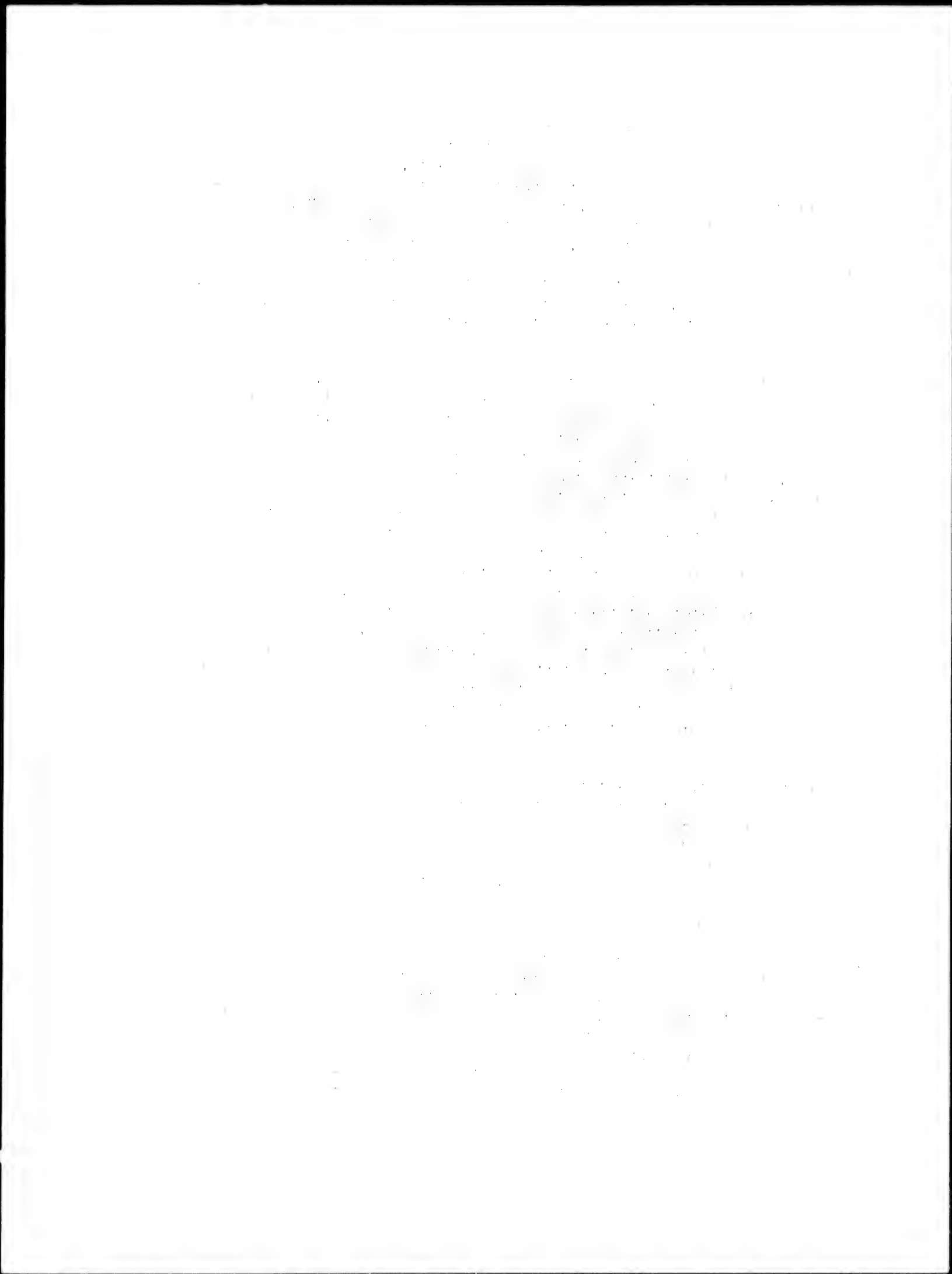
[Article: "Province to Launch Campaign of 'No's' and 'Five Implementations'. Planned Birth Work to Reach a New Level. The Three No's Are: No Multiple Pregnancy Births, No Unplanned Births, and No Peak Month Births. The Five Implementations Are: Implementation of Ideology; Implementation of Organization; Implementation of Planning; Implementation of Policies; and Implementation of Actions."]

[Text] The correspondent learned the following from leaders concerned with family planning. Liaoning Province is to launch a campaign of "three no's" and "five implementations" to raise planned birth work to a new level.

Since the launching of a planned birth propaganda month at the beginning of this year, an unprecedentedly fine situation has taken place in planned birth work throughout the province's cities and countryside. Statistics for the first quarter show a 92.1 percent planned birth rate, which is 7.5 percent higher than for the same period last year. The single pregnancy rate was 78.1 percent, which was 4.3 percent higher than for the same period last year. The multiple pregnancy rate fell to 1.7 percent as compared with the 2.1 percent rate of the same period last year. In 10 out of 12 municipalities and prefectures the planned birth rate reached more than 90 percent, and in 11 out of 24 metropolitan districts, it reached 100 percent. In 26 out of 97 counties, it reached better than 90 percent. As of the end of March, more than 216,000 male and female ligation operations had been performed. This was 10,000 more than the total number of ligations performed during all of 1981 - 1982.

Liaoning Province has made great accomplishments in planned births; nevertheless, there are still differences between one prefecture and another, and problems still exist in quite a few links. In order to commend the advanced and put the spur to the laggards, better implement controlled population planning, and raise planned birth work to a new level so that Liaoning Province's population will be no more than 41.5 million by the end of this century, the Provincial People's Government held a meeting from 16 to 17 May in which it commended 16 planned birth red banner units, 273 advanced collective, 262 advanced planned birth workers, and 34 planned birth activists. The meeting summarized and exchanged experiences, and sets





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CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY, GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATIONAL REFORMS

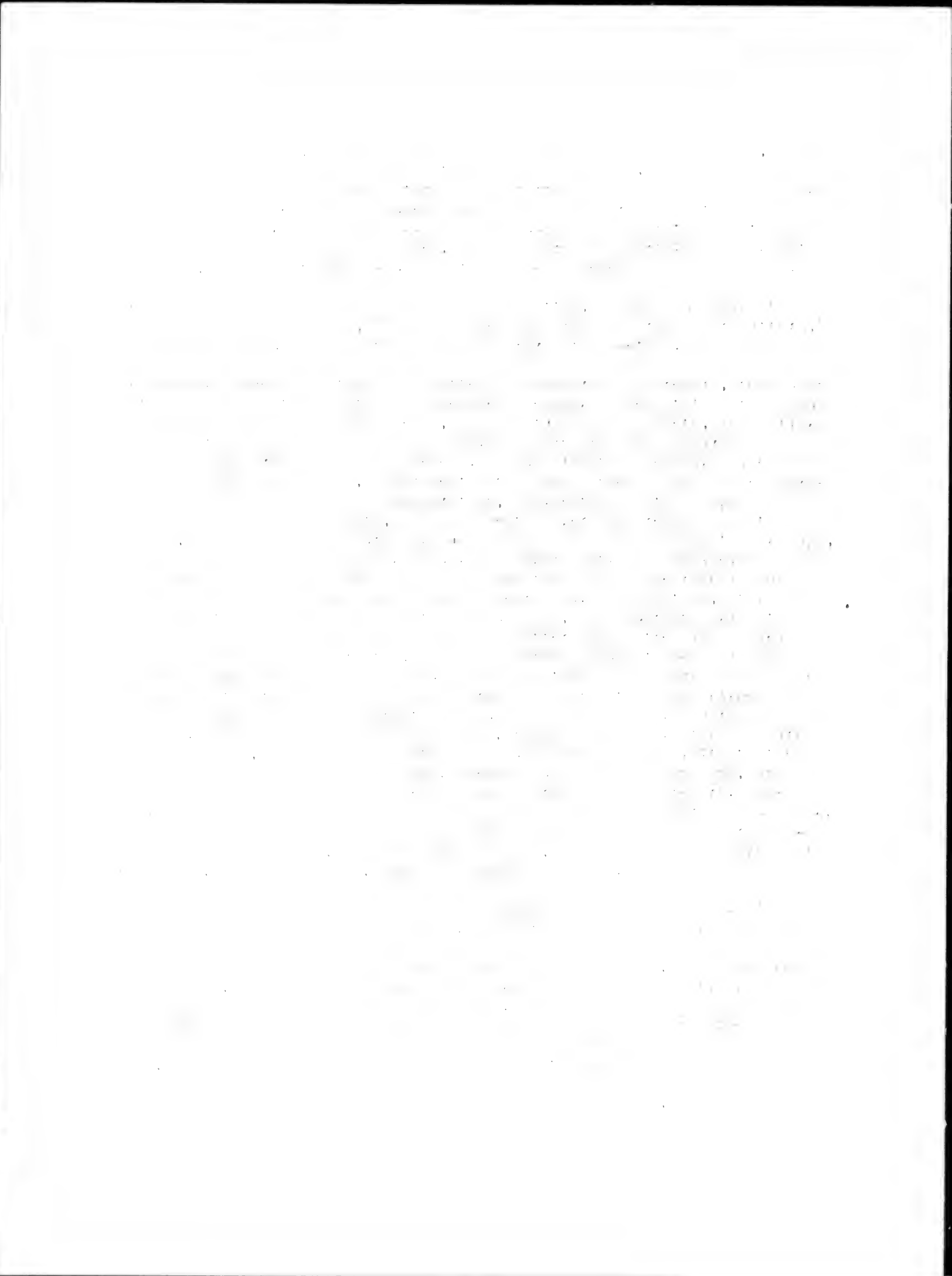
Source: LIAONING (000) in Chinese 18 Apr 77 p 1

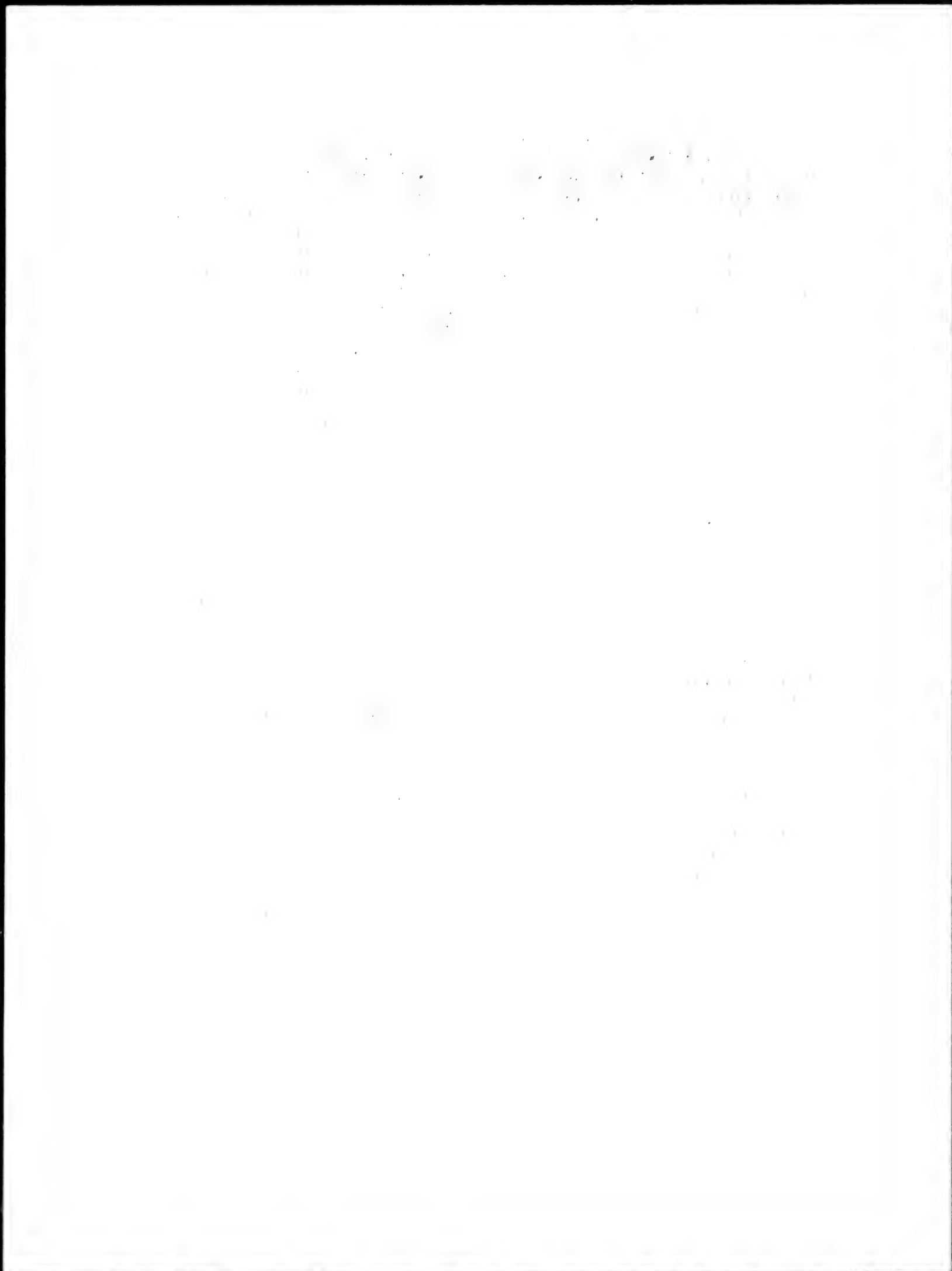
Summary: "Take Firm Hold of the Three Major Matters: Organization, Work, and Correcting Party Style. First Enlarged Provincial Committee Meeting of the Provincial CPC New Leadership Body Held Yesterday. New and Old Comrades Assembled in One Hall to Discuss Cooperation in the Takeover of Important Matters. Feelings Cordial; Atmosphere Lively; and Deep Sense of Great Prospects for Liaoning Province and That New Efforts Must Be Made to Achieve Every Endeavor."

Text: A 3-day long enlarged meeting of the Provincial CPC Committee began yesterday. This meeting was held at a crucial time when new leadership bodies were taking over from old ones at the provincial and municipal (or prefecture) levels. This was the first enlarged meeting of the Provincial CPC Committee since formation of the new leadership bodies.

The meeting called upon the party organization at all levels to devote themselves to taking a firm grip on organizational reforms, a firm grip on economic work, and a firm grip on correction of party style to produce results, achieve achievements and give impetus to work for the year ahead.

The first session in which the new and the old cooperated in the takeover, began yesterday. The meeting included both old comrades who had been working in the province for years and who were not retiring to the second line, and new comrades recently assigned to leadership bodies. The new and old comrades assembled in one hall for joint discussion and cooperation in turning over major matters. Feelings were cordial, and the atmosphere was lively. Provincial work group director, Nie Bangzhi [262] 2112, and Huang Guohua [262] 2962 2963, Li Huang [262] 2407, and Wang [262] 2993 2994, as well as numerous comrades at the meeting, gave statements about the matter of cooperation between the new and the old in the takeover. Numerous old comrades said that cooperation between the old and the new in the takeover is an historical imperative. They are withdrawing to the second line organizationally, but they are not withdrawing in spirit, and they are determined to support the new comrades with vigor and sincerity, strengthen unity and cooperation, and to avoid any "waste seat to generate electricity." Numerous comrades also expressed determination not to disappoint the new leadership.





MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

QIAN XUESEN ON MILITARY SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY

Beijing XITONGGONGCHENG LILUN YU SHIJIAN [SYSTEMS ENGINEERING--THEORY AND PRACTICE]
In Chinese No 2, 1983 p 1

[Article by the Editorial Staff: "Qian Xuesen [6929 1331 2773] on Military Science and Technology--Report on Qian Xuesen's Conversation With the Comrades of the Academy of Military Science"; portions within slantlines underlined in original text]

[Text] The key issue of the modernization of our armed forces is to build them into a modernized and regularized revolutionary army through the development of military science and technology. We must think independently and not run after the foreigners, since our situation is different from those foreign countries. For example, we are still very poor. How exactly should we equip our country's army? We should fully utilize modern science and technology, encouraging the strong and avoiding weak points. The main spirit is to think independently and lay down our own policies and ways. Otherwise, we would exhaust our limited funds for equipment without being able to produce high combat effectiveness. That would be a serious mistake.

In order to build a modern army, we must also have comprehensive knowledge of military science and technology. In terms of structural setup, military science and technology is made up in strata. Closest to military practice is /military technology/. Above it, as its theoretical basis, is /military science/, which is divided into two sub-levels: /applied military science/ and /basic military science and technology/. Above the stratum of military science is /military philosophy/, which is the bridge leading military science and technology to Marxist philosophy.

The oldest military technology was military engineering which came into existence first in the time of Napoleon. "Engineering" and "engineers" appeared then and meant military engineering and military engineers. Only later were they transplanted to civil use and terms, such as "building engineering" and "building engineers" appeared. So if we translate these foreign words directly, they mean "civil engineering" and "civil engineers." Subsequent military technology was that of research, design and manufacturing of weaponry, which sprang up vigorously at the beginning of this century. Further, military

technology was the application of systems engineering to military: 1) Use of simulated combat as staff speciality; 2) scientific demonstration, general designing and application research of weaponry; 3) modernization of rear service; 4) strategic analysis and the impact of new weaponry on strategies and tactics to be considered by supreme command. Naturally, these military technologies listed above may not be complete. For instance, there has emerged a new military technological concept, "unified battlefield," which means that close combat firing, firepower support, air defense, communication, command control and intelligence are integrated into a whole, with electronic combat, combat service support and maneuver of combat forces to react flexibly to any change of war situation. This concept has raised very high demands on military electronic technology.

Based on the development of the military technologies mentioned above, at the level of military science, applied military science must also have new contents, such as science of strategy, science of campaigns, science of tactics, theory of simulated combat, theory of control, operation research, etc., while basic military science must have war history, military science, 'game play' theory and systems theory, etc.

Military philosophy in our country has an ancient history, and in modern times we have works by Jiang Fangzhen [5592 2455 7201]. Naturally, the most valuable are works on military by Engels and works on this subject by Chairman Mao.

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CSO: 4005/1023

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

SYMPOSIUM ON SIMULATED COMBAT EXPERIENCE REPORTED

Beijing XITONGGONGCHENG LILUN YU SHIJIAN [SYSTEMS ENGINEERING--THEORY AND PRACTICE] in Chinese No 2, 1983 p 62

[Article by Zhu Songchun [2612 2646 2504]: "Second Symposium on Exchange of Experience in Simulated Combat Held at the PLA Academy of Military Sciences"]

[Text] The Combat Systems Group of the Military Systems Engineering Committee of the Chinese Systems Engineering Institute held its second symposium on exchange of experience, on 10 December 1982, at the PLA Academy of Military Science. Twenty-nine units attended the meeting, among them were the Military Institute, Logistics Institute, Academy of Military Science, the Headquarters of the General Staff, the General Logistics Department, Beijing Military Area, the Navy, the Artillery, and related departments, as well as the Systems Engineering Department of the General Corporation of the Chinese Ship Industry, etc. Zhang Yixiang [1728 5065 5046], deputy director of the Academy of Military Science; Zhao Guanying [6392 0385 5391], dean of the Military Institute; Pu Xiwen [5543 6932 2429], chairman of the Military Systems Engineering Committee, etc., also attended the symposium. Representatives from 6 units delivered 10 lectures on special topics. The symposium concluded with the showing of a video tape entitled "Simple and Mobile Tactical Models" recorded by the Academy of Military Science.

This symposium on exchange of experience covered a wide range of topics ranging from research in combat to training of troops and rear service support, from antinuclear attacks to conventional warfare, and from naval combat to land warfare. All the participants found that these lectures have given certain inspiration and reference and hoped that there would be more meetings like this in the future to promote the rapid development of simulated combat techniques.

Comrade Guo Shufang [6753 2885 2658] gave a brief summary at the end of the symposium. He believed that we have learned from the contents of the lectures on special topics about the scope and level of the advancement of our simulated combat operation, and each unit has begun, in the light of its own situation, to enforce the application of these kinds of scientific methods to solve actual problems. In his speech, Guo also mentioned that the objective of our common struggle in simulated combat operation in the future is to establish a complete set of various tactical models that are suitable for our army's needs, with

corresponding military data base, which will better serve the development of our weaponry, the research of military science, college and university instruction and troop training. To achieve the objective, each unit must go a step further and cooperate with each other in a proper way, and through coordination and key task tackling, strive to reach the preliminary goal as early as possible and open up a new prospect for the discipline of operations research.

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COMPLEXITIES OF CHINA'S PROBLEMS SHOWN IN DENG XIAOPING'S WORKS

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 70, Aug 83 pp 55-58

[Article: "The Crux of the Overall Situation As Seen from the 'Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping'"]

[Text] Speaking in Terms of "Retirement" or "No Retirement"

"To permit the old and the ill to block the road of younger, more vigorous, more capable people not only means no hope for the four modernizations, but even bears on the issue of the ruin of the party and the country, and may ruin for the party and the country." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," page 252, hereafter abbreviated to "Deng's Selected Works").

This was an extremely grim statement from Deng Xiaoping on the need for old cadres to "retire" and the need for "cadre rejuvenation." It cannot be denied that Deng Xiaoping has himself indicated desire to "retire." Back when there was a turn over of power and the political situation, when Deng Xiaoping could have replaced Hua Guofeng, he desired to withdraw to the second line and did his utmost to propel Hu Yaobang into first place in the party and to support Zhao Ziyang to succeed as premier of the State Council.

However, the comings and goings of high ranking personages in the mainland political arena has never followed the rules, and it is difficult to examine it in terms of common logic; rather it has been replete with cunning and contradictions. For example, on the one hand Deng Xiaoping has emphasized that whether or not "oldsters" retire is a matter of major importance bearing on the existence or demise of the party and country, while at the same time those approaching old age continue as ever "not to retire," and there has even been a conspicuous "concentration of oldsters." So isn't that a monstrous absurdity! The 78 year old Commander Deng has continued as chairman of the Military Commission of the Communist Party of China Central Committee, and now he has also concurrently become chairman of the newly established National Military Council. The four vice-chairmen of the Central Committee Military Commission are Ye Jianying, who is 86 years old; Xu Xianqian, who is 82 years old; Nie Rongzhen, who is 84 years old, and Yang Shankun, who is 76 years old, for an average age of 82 years. They have also continued to be impelled to serve concurrently as vice-chairmen

of the National Military Council. Isn't this tantamount to concurrent 'oldness?' On the basis of Deng Xiaoping's initial warning remarks, it is entirely reasonable to suppose that old commanders "not retiring" is no trivial matter.

"Why do the old commanders not retire? As far as Deng Xiaoping is concerned, is it because of no desire to retire or not being allowed to retire? Inasmuch as another old commander, Ye Jianying, has retired from the NPC Standing Committee and has written a letter pleading "old age and many ailments, with strength that falls short of desires," why then does he serve concurrently as vice-chairman of two military commissions? This particularly puzzles people, and is bound to arouse all sorts of suspicions and discussions.

Numerous factual situations reveal clues. Now I will attempt to explore the real facts from the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" in order to reveal the crux of the overall situation.

The Emphasis of the "Selected Works"

"The Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" included 47 speeches and discussions for the period from 1975 to 1982. The Chinese Communists have declared them as "brilliant works for guiding the whole party in bringing about a mighty historical transition, and for setting a correct line for building the four modernizations." It is worth noting, however, that among these 47 selections, more than 11 deal with the armed forces and national defense. This is almost one-fourth of the total number. In this historical period, the mainland did not formally use troops in combat. They were basically in a "peaceful environment," yet the issue of the armed forces is still weighted in this way and so pronounced. This demonstrates an extraordinary situation and shows that in both the "historical transition," and in promotion of "four modernizations, the armed forces play a pivotal role.

The eleven articles in the selected works have been excerpted as follows:

1. "The Armed Forces Need Reorganization" (a 25 January 1975 talk to cadres above the regimental level on the General Staff following Deng's reinstatement as vice-chairman of the Military Commission and concurrently Chief of General Staff). This emphasized that "factionalism has broken out most recently." (page 2).
2. "The Task of Military Reorganization" (14 July 1975, a speech at an enlarged meeting of the Military Commission): "What other problems are there in the armed forces... I thought for a moment. Five words came to mind: bloated, lax, arrogant, extravagant, and indolent." (page 15).
3. "On Reorganization of National Defense Industrial Enterprises" (3 August 1975, a speech to key enterprises in national defense industries). This pointed out that among leading cadres "Fear dominates. They do not do

their work; they spend much time recuperating from small illnesses, and grumble when they are not ill." (page 25). It also referred to "numerous flying accidents at the present time. Naturally, this is partly the result of poor unit training, poor quality of aviators, and low levels from ground direction; however, it is also necessary to study problems with aircraft quality." (page 26).

4. "The Armed Forces Should Raise Education and Training to a Strategic Position" (23 August 1977 speech by Deng to the Military Affairs Commission symposium following his re-emergence). Deng pointedly raised the question: "After the long term depredations of Lin Biao and the 'gang of four,' unless the armed forces are rapidly reorganized, will they be able to fight should they come up against an enemy attack?" (page 56). He envisioned a "rejuvenation of combat unit cadres within 5 years time or slightly more." (page 62)

5. "Speech Before the Full Membership of the Military Commission of the Communist Party of China Central Committee" (28 December 1977). "If the armed forces do not perform well, and military cadres are not pure, disaster will be very great... looked at particularly in terms of the struggle with the 'gang of four,' weakness, i.e., the pre-eminence of fear, loss of principles, inability to stand up, following after others; some people always supposing themselves to be right, bringing about a new mountain stronghold mentality, and appointing people out of favoritism..." (pp 70-72).

6. "Speech Before Political Work Conference of the Whole Armed Forces" (2 June 1978), which emphasized "the seeking of truth from facts:" "It should be said, in particular, that whether high ranking cadres are able to be personal models has a very great effect. Right now evil tendencies are very conspicuous, and must be corrected beginning with leading cadres." (page 120).

7. "Realization of the Ideological Line and the Political Line Must Rely on the Organizational Line for Assurance" (Speech of 29 July 1979 upon meeting comrades from the full membership of the Enlarged Meeting of the Navy CPC Standing Committee): "We should note that a lot of people today oppose the party's political line and ideological line. Basically they are of the same ideological ilk as Lin Biao and the 'gang of four.' They believe that what the Central Committee is now doing is a regression and is right opportunist. They raise the banner of support for Comrade Mao Zedong and practice 'two whatevers' when, in fact, they are supporting the Lin Biao and 'gang of four' stuff in a different guise. These people largely rose during the Great Cultural Revolution in which they had a vested interest. They feel that things today are not of much benefit to them, so they very much yearn for the past. ...so long as old comrades are alive, the problems can be solved fairly well, but if we are no longer alive and the problems have still not been solved, great chaos will ensue throughout the country." (pp 177-178)

8. "Streamlining of the Armed Forces and Improving Combat Capabilities" (12 March 1980 speech to an expanded meeting of the Military Commission): First of all, he "proposed 'reductions in bloating', particularly solution to duplication in armed forces organizations and overstaffing, as well as to problems such as ineffectiveness in command at all levels that these problems occasion (page 248). Second, he spoke of "restructuring the system...national failure to establish a retirement system may adversely affect the vitality of the entire country, and failure of the armed forces to establish a retirement system may make impossible the maintenance of their own vitality." (page 252).

9. "On the Problem of Opposing Erroneous Ideological Tendencies" (a 27 March 1981 talk with leading comrades of the PLA General Political Department): "The main point is correction of "leftist" tendencies in guiding ideology; however, this will not be able to solve problems completely. It will also be necessary to correct rightist tendencies." (page 34) In referring to the "three supports and two military's" [support to industry and agriculture, and support to broad masses of the Left; military control and political and military training, which were tasks given the PLA during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution], in addition to making corrections, Deng Xiaoping said that "the damage that the "three supports and two military's" have caused the armed forces has been very great. They have brought many bad things in their train, and have caused very great damage to the prestige of the armed forces. Factionalism and some "leftist" things, for example, have come in fairly large part as a result of this." (page 336).

10. "Building of Powerful Modern Regular Revolutionary Armed Forces," (19 September 1981 speech at a military exercise review in north China).

11. "Speech At Military Council Symposium" (4 July 1982): "The armed forces have advocated younger cadres for many years... but it should be said that for the past several years performance on this matter has not been all that it should have been. Unless this problem is solved, we will not be able to make a clean turnover of accounts." (page 365) "Maintenance in our armed forces of "cadres of '381 [cadres who have been long-term participants in the revolution, specifically those who took part before 1938] is not easy. The armed forces truly have a tradition, and the problem of "old superiors" is part of it. A large pile of old Red Army cadres press down from the top, myself included among them. This problem just has to be solved." (page 366)

Numerous Military Maladies

The foregoing has been excerpted from an extremely small number of passages on the armed forces in 11 articles in the selected works; however, quite a few other articles bear on the armed forces. It is easy to see from them that the armed forces' problems are fairly complex and fairly serious. From beginning to end, "Deng's Selected Works" emphasize reorganization of the armed forces. The first article is "Need For Reorganization of the Armed Forces." This was at a stage before 1976 when, without doubt, the

mainstream was "leftist." Further reorganization after 1977 gradually produced a turnaround up until 1982. The 46th article in "Deng's Selected Works" discusses handling of the difficult armed forces problem, and he signs with regret that "without solution to the problem, we will not be able to make a clean turnover of accounts." At this time, old commander Deng is concurrently in charge of two posts and heavily "presses down from the top," which serves to show that he is still "not able to make a clean turnover of accounts" and cannot leave his posts. Chairman Deng is clearly not happy and relaxed. What is startling is that he said the following: "If we die and the problems havenot yet been solved, there will be great chaos throughout the country!" Let me ask, have the "problems" now been solved? Publication of "Deng's Selected Works" provided the best answer. They demonstrate that finding the key is still going on in an effort to solve the piles of problems confronted. Consequently, it is still not possible to give up vigilance against "great chaos throughout the country."

Deng is fond of using several words to capsulize the armed forces' problems. A combing of "Deng's Selected Works" turns up twelve such words as follows: left, faction (factionalism), privilege (meaning special privileges), interest (in the sense of vested interest), softness (seeking power and influence), old, bloated, lax, arrogant, extravagant, indolent and chaotic. These might be termed the "twelve military maladies."

It should also be realized that these maladies are interrelated and complex. Take "old" for example. Some oldsters hold power, and they may have the idea that their qualifications in being old and their old experiences are just what are needed to exorcise evils and cure maladies, and thus they are determined to remain in the armed forces in order to do so. This is unspeakably pitiful. Old commander Deng may have a similar view. However, some decrepit people are inextricably mixed up with "leftism," "factionalism," and "interests." There is no doubt whatsoever that such "oldsters," though old and useless, will not retire and are certainly a malady that is hard to eliminate.

One can see that the idea of "oldness" contains difficult to deal with and complex relationships requiring careful sorting out and cautious handling.

The countless historical difficulties of the Chinese Communists make up a very heavy historical burden. Old commander Deng is carrying multiple historical burdens on his back; his hands are directing "Deng's Selected Works;" he is staggering along and walking with difficulty. This is one of the extraordinary sights in the mainland today.

The Crux of the Overall Situation

Is there any possibility today of thoroughly remedying the illnesses?

It has to be realized, first of all, that the problem of the armed forces is not an isolated one, but rather a part of the total Chinese Communist body politic. For this reason, solution to the problem of the armed forces

is inseparable from the basic line. For example, the "very great harm" and the "three supports and two military's" of the Great Cultural Revolution period mentioned previously were products of the "so-called strategic deployments" of Mao Zedong's extreme leftist line. They resulted from Mao's direct use of force (the armed forces) to suppress opposition factions, and his reliance on guns to buck historical trends in an effort to continue vigorous promotion of the Cultural Revolution.

It is common knowledge that one of the "dogmas" of "Mao Zedong Thought" is "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." Mao Zedong used his "practice" to deduce this dogma, namely:

Guns first;
Rely on guns to conquer the land;
Rely on guns to rule the land;
Rely on guns to suppress dissent, and to maintain and expand one's own power position.

Mao Zedong's reliance on guns "defied all laws, human and divine," and he did as he pleased, causing turmoil throughout the land. Moreover, wild talk about "the more turmoil the better," and "good" is "good" at training up a band of "Mao style warriors," also known as "extremely left military men," prolonged disaster for the whole army, the whole party and the whole country endlessly.

One can find many veiled, indirect, and restrained disclosures and criticisms in "Deng's Selected Works." Deng's condemnation of the "three supports and two military's" as "having brought many bad things in their train" is a summary indictment.

The serious challenge that Deng now faces is that "opposition factions" in the armed forces "are very much in evidence." They are "ultra-leftist" factions that exist in upper, intermediate, and lower echelons, or as "Deng's Selected Works" disclosed, "They are those who had a vested interest in the Cultural Revolution." They raise the banner of "support for Mao," and consider a pragmatic line a "retrogression." They are a great impediment to current reform and a great calamity that endangers overall interests.

"Deng's present "pressure from above" certainly plays a definite deterrent role, and possibly solves some problems. However, unless decisive action is taken on the basic system, this will be to no avail in the end.

The Way Out is "Nationalization of the Armed Forces"

A genuine beginning from the basic line and the basic system requires complete abandonment of "rule by force (military): and the institution of democratic rule by law. This requires the "nationalization of the armed forces." There must be both a halt to "the gun directing the party," and to "the party directing the gun." No one may use guns as instruments to scramble for power and profit, and no political power may exercise control over the armed forces for political capital. The armed forces' sole mission should be prevention of foreign humiliation and defense of

the country, becoming a purely "national defense army." This is the only way in which the armed forces can avoid becoming embroiled in internal political turmoil. At the same time, it would help block all schemers and careerists from using the armed forces to conjure up a host of demons to make trouble. This is also the only way of helping bring an end to the "use of force to subjugate people" and help realize democratic government.

An essential prerequisite to whether it will be possible to "nationalize the armed forces" is whether it will be possible to genuinely institute political democratization. Also, only by "nationalizing the armed forces," and beginning political democratization will it be possible fully to insure the carrying out of the "four modernizations."

Old commander Deng and the current Chinese Communist leadership are carrying an historical burden and are laboring under the limitations of the party. The possibility that they will solve this problem is miniscule, and this is an historical tragedy for China. Is it not also a tragedy for the Communist Party!

"We Owe Debts"

"...in any case, if our generation does not solve this problem, we will owe a debt." (page 369)

When one reads this phrase in "Deng's Selected Works," he cannot help but feel gloomy! For a tough and tenacious old commander like Deng Xiaoping, who has weathered numerous campaigns and shouldered heavy responsibilities, to have made such an unalterable declaration, his frame of mind must have been heavy. This makes people think that he has "no freedom" of action or of time. Therefore, our earlier notation that possibilities are very small that commander Deng's generation will be able to solve problems in the system are very small was not irresponsible talk. I did not underestimate their patience of determination, but used a seeking of truth from facts to appraise the limitations. Conversely, I feel that the candor displayed in "Deng's Selected Works" is to be taken seriously. Reading between the lines discloses unintentionally that it is not that old commander Deng is unwilling to do things, but that he cannot do them, and that it is because of traditional inertia, in particular, that circumstances will not allow. Therefore, if publication of "Deng's Selected Works" is onesidedly extolled and hailed, as is the usual practice in such cases, as demonstrating "endless success" and that "all is well," that would be a deception of oneself as well as others and would not be in keeping with the seeking of truth from facts. I fear, as well, that it would also not be in keeping with the intent of old commander Deng himself!

In his speech titled, "Establishment of an Advisory Commission Is a Transitional Method for the Elimination of the System of Lifetime Service for Leaders (30 July 1982), Deng said the following: "...questions such as the system of lifetime service for leaders have been touched on, but

have not been completely solved, nor has the problem of a retirement system been completely solved. Establishment of an advisory council is transitional in nature. ...however, during this transitional stage, diligent efforts must be made to make the cadre corps younger, this is a problem that is particularly severe in the armed forces, and for which solution is harder, ...the State Council and Central Committee organizations have done a fairly good job in reorganization of the system, but the armed forces have been poor by comparison. ...In any case, if this generation fails to solve this problem, we will owe a debt." (pp 368-369)

The emphasis here on the problem being "particularly severe" in the armed forces more clearly shows that "elimination of the system of lifetime service for leaders", and "institution of a retirement system," and having younger cadres" "is harder" in the armed forces, that there are many obstacles, and that it cannot be done. This shows just how obstinate and conservative, and how swollen with arrogance the armed forces are!

I have encountered some of the children of these high ranking cadres in mainland armed forces, all of whom said joyfully that "father has retired." (but not at the top command level, and no higher than division level). They continued to be provided with a house and an automobile (including gasoline), were provided with personnel to do sundry jobs, and received pay and provisions as usual ("those who participated in the Long March" annually receive an additional 2 months military pay and provisions; those who "fought in the War of Resistance to Japan" receive an extra 1 1/2 months pay and provisions; and those who "fought in the War of Liberation" receive an extra month's pay and provisions. Medical treatment is paid for from public funds and every year they can convalesce, take vacations, travel, or go sightseeing all at public expense. But these oldsters are still not satisfied; they want assurances that the next generation can enter military schools and become officials, and that arrangements be made for a succession of subordinates to be looked at just as they like. In short, they demand that privileges be added to countless privileges, and that they be passed along.

The armed forces have become a headquarters for "privileges," and guns have become the guardians of "privileges." They vehemently raise the hue and cry that "Those who fought for the country should rule the country," and they want their posterity to continue to rule it. RENMIN RIBAO has run a series of editorials in criticism. It seems that even old commander Deng has to make concessions to the old soldiers and be willing to "owe a debt," so when "scholars come up against soldiers," how can they deal with soldiers!

Thus, as a result of an initial reading of "Deng's Selected Works, taken together with what I have seen and heard otherwise, I could not help writing the foregoing with a feeling of shock; however, I hope that the Chinese Communists will find a complete method of solution.

Old commander Deng! Where will "owing a debt" end? Have you considered who will pay off this pile of repeatedly tangled accounts? How much the common people of China who have experienced joys and sorrows yearn to see the day when a public declaration will be made and achieved whereby "no debts will be owing to the country or the people."

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VIEW OF CPC THROUGH 'SELECTED WORKS OF DENG XIAOPING' AIRED

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] In Chinese No 70, Aug 83 pp 60-68

[Article by Lu Zhongjian [4151 0022 1017]: "Reading the 'Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping' and Looking at the CPC"]

[Text] Is Deng Xiaoping the CPC's Helmsman?

The publication of the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" has aroused much discussion in Hong Kong. On 4 July, the RENMIN RIBAO published Li Desheng's "Great Change, Outstanding Contribution"; because in this article he called Deng Xiaoping the "helmsman" of the great turning point in CPC history since the founding of the CPC, he was subject to some reproach. Since the "Cultural Revolution," people have loathed such terms as "the great helmsman"; hence, about Li Desheng's use of a similar term they also harbor no wholesome feelings. This is understandable. But, are Li Desheng's words wrong, after all? Having read the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," I can affirm that Deng Xiaoping is indeed the CPC's helmsman during the new historical period.

After the downfall of the "gang of four," the CPC faced one monstrous problem after another; the "two whatevers" point of view constrained the thinking of the entire CPC to some extent. At that time, this ship of Communist Party which suffered damage during the 10-year "Cultural Revolution" was floating in a storm with uncertainty. At this important juncture, Deng Xiaoping rose to the occasion to make repeated appeals, asking people to emancipate their thinking, to seek truth from facts, to negate the two whatevers, to oppose capitalism, to establish the ideological line of seeking truth from facts, to rely on an organizational line with the selection of successors as its central content so as to assure the political line of single-minded pursuit of the four modernizations, to formulate principles and policies in accordance with current realities.... it was only under this ideological guidance of Deng Xiaoping that the ship of Communist China became gradually stabilized. Such ideas of Deng Xiaoping are all reflected in the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping."

Withstanding the 'Gang of Four,' Withstanding Hua Guofeng

In the first place, Deng Xiaoping dared to withstand the "gang of four" and withstand Hua Guofeng.

When, in 1975, the CPC and the various facets of the state had come to a chaotic stall all during the "Cultural Revolution," Deng Xiaoping reemerged in the face of such a crisis to preside over the daily routines of the CPC and the state. At this time, no matter how great the pressure from the "gang of four" proved to be and no matter how various difficulties had piled up, he resolutely proceeded with his rectification. At a meeting on countryside work, he said emphatically: "Today, our problems are numerous. If we lack zeal in our attempt to solve them, it simply will not do. We must, first of all, resort to daring by making up our minds no matter what might ensue. During the past half a year, I have given many speeches, and their central theme is our first of all resorting to daring." ("Rectification Is Necessary in All Aspects" in "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 32) He carried out this rectification in the military, industrial, agricultural, communicational, scientific and technological, educational, as well as literary aspect. This rectification itself was a struggle against the "gang of four" and the mistakes of the "Left." The rectification incurred "criticism against Deng, counterattack against the Rightist trend or reversing the verdict"; he once more was forced to step down. But it did good to the CPC and the state.

After the downfall of the "gang of four," Leftist poison continued to flood the whole country; both before and after his reemergence, Deng Xiaoping resolutely opposed the "two whatsoevers," appealed to the whole party to emancipate its thinking and support the discussion of the question of the criterion for testing truth; this caused the renovation of the highest stratum of the leadership in the CPC Central Committee and the State Council and the change in Hua Guofeng's duties within and without the party. This was also a demonstration of his daring and his resolve. Of course, Deng Xiaoping did not confuse the problem of the "gang of four" with the problem of Hua Guofeng, and still less did he handle the two in the same manner. At the time of 1981, there were those within and without the CPC who opposed Deng with the banner of Hua Guofeng; Deng Xiaoping did not regard this as Hua Guofeng's fault. He said: "I have also talked with many comrades, for these events Comrade Hua Guofeng himself was not responsible; he himself did not engage in any activities" (speech during the preparatory meeting for the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee on 22 June 1981, Ibid, p 274).

Criticizing Mao Zedong's Mistakes

Second, Deng Xiaoping Dared To Criticize Mao

Deng Xiaoping is opposed both to entirely negating Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought and to the absolutization of Mao Zedong Thought. In his many works, Deng Xiaoping points out that Mao Zedong had made mistakes and that some of Mao Zedong's words and ideas are wrong; at the same time, Deng Xiaoping repeatedly emphasizes that Mao Zedong's merits are primary, and his mistakes are secondary.

Beginning with Article No 9, "The 'Two-Whatever' Policy Does Not Accord With Marxism," in "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," many articles touch on the question of Mao Zedong's mistakes. And of the nine articles written in 1980, not a single one fails to directly or indirectly touch on Mao Zedong's mistakes.

Deng Xiaoping thinks that Mao Zedong's mistakes "began in the late 1950's" (Ibid, pp 3, 5). The "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" discusses the following mistakes of Mao Zedong:

1. Pushing the socialist transformation too fast. "For example, in the case of agricultural cooperativization, there was a high tide every year or two; before one form had a chance to become consolidated, change soon took place. This was the case when primary cooperativization proceeded toward general institutionalization of high-level cooperatives (Ibid, p 276).

2. "Anti-rightist struggle." Deng Xiaoping discusses in several of his articles the question of the anti-Rightist struggle." Although he merely thinks the "anti-Rightist struggle" erred in allowing its own expansion, the consequences of this struggle, in any case, seriously damaged China's innate strengths; this cannot be obliterated. And Mao Zedong "after the 1957 anti-Rightist struggle, committed more and more mistakes" (Ibid, p 259).

3. The "Great Leap Forward." Deng Xiaoping says: "The Great Leap Forward was incorrect. This responsibility was not just Chairman Mao's alone, the heads of all of us were then heated. It completely went against objective laws in attempting to make a go of our economy all of a sudden. When one's subjective wishes go against objective laws, it is certain that one is to encounter failure. But the principal responsibility for the Great Leap Forward itself is still Chairman Mao's" ("In Response to the Question of the Italian Reporter Oriana Fallaci," Ibid, p 305).

4. Resorting to the people's communes. Deng Xiaoping thinks that the people's communes were pursued too fast. He says: "When the Great Leap Forward was pushed in 1958, the high-level cooperatives were hardly consolidated, yet the people's communes were universally pursued again. As a result, a retreat had to be made in the early 1960's, a retreat that went back to taking the production team as the basic accounting unit" ("Concerning the Question of Our Countryside Policies," Ibid, p 276).

5. Persecution of Peng Dehuai. Deng Xiaoping indicates that the so-called "anti-Rightism" and criticism of Peng Dehuai in 1959 were incorrect. He says: "In the first half of 1959, there was a rectification of the mistakes of the "Left" in progress. During the earlier part of our Lushan meeting we were still discussing our economic work. Once Comrade Peng Dehuai's letter was handed down, the tendency immediately changed. Comrade Peng Dehuai's opinions were correct; and, it was also normal that he, as a member of the Political Bureau, should have written to its chairman. Even though Comrade Peng Dehuai also had his defects, the handling of Comrade Peng Dehuai was completely erroneous" (Ibid, p 259).

6. Resorting to the "four-cleansing" campaign. Between 1963 and 1966, there was unfolded a campaign to cleanse politics, the economy, party organizations, and the ideology. This campaign hit quite a few basic-level cadres; it later also broached the need to prosecute "capitalist power-holders within the party."

In his "Suggestions on the Drafting of the 'Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China,'" Deng Xiaoping says: "After the 10th Plenum, he (meaning Mao Zedong--the author) himself turned to the handling of class struggle and the pursuit of the 'four-cleansing' campaign again" (Ibid, pp 259-260).

7. Two instructions on literature and art. On 12 December 1963, Mao Zedong issued an instruction to Peng Zhen and Liu Ren [0491 0088], the Beijing Municipality's mayor and deputy mayor at the time, on the question of tasks in the literary and art aspects which says: in literature and art, "Many departments are still ruled by 'dead people'"; the associations in literary and art circles and the publications they control "have in the last few years even sunk to the brink of revisionism." Deng Xiaoping points out that these two points in the instruction made it possible for Jiang Qing's stuff to make its appearance continuously thereafter (Ibid, p 260).

8. Resorting to the cultural revolution. In several of his articles Deng Xiaoping mentions Mao Zedong's mistake in pursuing the "Cultural Revolution." In the article "In Response to Questions by the Italian Reporter Oriana Fallaci," Deng discusses in even greater details the mistakes Mao made during the "Cultural Revolution." He says, Mao Zedong "in his later life, especially during the 'Cultural Revolution,' made mistakes, and not very minor mistakes at that, which brought many misfortunes to our party and state and people" (Ibid, p 304). Also, in "pursuing the 'Cultural Revolution,' Mao first of all mistook the enemies of the revolution, leading to the grabbing of the so-called 'capitalist power-holders within the party.' Such an approach rendered blows against leading cadres of all levels who originally achieved merits and practical experiences in the revolution, among them including Comrade Liu Shaoqi. A year or two before his death, Chairman Mao mentioned that the Cultural Revolution committed two mistakes, one is 'down with everyone,' and the other is 'an all-embracing civil war.' On these two points alone we no can say that the 'Cultural Revolution' was correct. What Chairman Mao committed was political mistakes, which cannot be considered minor" (Ibid, p 305).

9. Making important use of and deciding to use, Lin Biao and Jiang Qing. Deng Xiaoping thinks that Mao Zedong's selection of Lin Biao as his successor was an incorrect approach; says he: "A leader, in selecting his own successor, is invoking a feudalist approach" (Ibid, pp 305-306). When answering the questions of the Italian reporter Oriana Fallaci, Deng Xiaoping acknowledged that because Jiang Qing was Chairman Mao's wife, people dared not to touch her; says he "The chairman really made mistakes, including his decision to use them." "Jiang Qing had her ways by waving Chairman Mao's banner, and Chairman Mao did not intervene with vigor; on this, Chairman Mao was responsible. Jiang Qing was thoroughly evil. However, the criminal label attached to the "gang of four" would not be excessive" (Ibid, p 311).

10. Resorting to patriarchy. Some articles in "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" repeatedly criticize Mao Zedong's patriarchy. In his "Reform of the Leadership System of the Party and the State," Deng Xiaoping says: "When major questions are discussed within the ranks of the party, on quite a few occasions full preparations for the development of democracy are lacking; thus an individual

or a small minority made a decision in a hurry and the principle of the minority obeying the majority was seldom followed in carrying out the necessary voting to reach those decisions. This shows that our democratic centralism had still not developed into a strict system. Since the 1958 criticism against adventurism and the 1959 'anti-Rightist deviation,' the democratic life of our party and state has gradually become abnormal. Patriarchal practices such as what I say alone counts, an individual deciding on major questions, individual worship, and an individual reigns above the organization continued to multiply" (Ibid, p 290). Deng Xiaoping also says: "The reason why the two counterrevolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing were able to take shape was also inseparable from this remnant of patriarchal workstyle within the party" (Ibid, p 291). In his "In Response to the Question of the Italian Reporter Oriana Fallaci," Deng Xiaoping even more clearly points out, "In Chairman Mao's later life, he had certain unhealthy ideas; that is to say, there were such feudalist things as patriarchy among them. It was not easy for him to listen to differing opinions. The things Chairman Mao criticized cannot all be said to be incorrect. But there were quite a few correct ideas, not only mine but including those of other comrades, which he failed to listen. The practice of democratic centralism was sabotaged, and the practice of collective leadership was also sabotaged; otherwise, we would be unable to understand why the 'Cultural Revolution' broke out" (Ibid, pp 306-307).

11. Concerning Mao Zedong Thought. Deng Xiaoping differentiates Mao Zedong from Mao Zedong Thought. He says: "Mao Zedong Thought is not the creation of Comrade Mao Zedong alone; it includes the contributions of the old generation of our revolutionaries who all participated in the establishment and development of Mao Zedong Thought. It consists mainly of Comrade Mao Zedong's ideas" (Ibid, p 304). Deng Xiaoping thinks that before the late 1950's Mao Zedong's "many ideas brought us victory; some of the fundamental principles he broached are very correct" (Ibid). But, "in his late years certain unhealthy factors, unhealthy ideas gradually began to raise their heads; these were mainly 'Leftist' ideas. A considerable portion of these violated his original ideas and violated his originally very good, correct policies, including his workstyles" (Ibid). In another article, Deng Xiaoping says likewise: "Comrade Mao Zedong's mistake consists in the violation of his own correct things" (Ibid, p 262). This is to say that Mao Zedong's tragedy consists in the violation of Mao Zedong Thought itself. In speaking of Mao Zedong's mistakes in his later ideas, Deng Xiaoping also cites certain examples; he says: "When Comrade Mao Zedong reached his late years, his thinking was no longer so coherent; some of his words were self-contradictory. For instance, his appraisal of the 'Cultural Revolution' was that it consisted of 30 percent mistakes and 70 percent achievements, and the 30 percent mistakes were made up of "down with everything" and the all-embracing civil war.

How can these two mistaken approaches thus described be related to the 70 percent achievements?" (Ibid, p 265) About Mao Zedong's dictum "taking up destruction first, and construction will naturally follow" and his policy of "taking food production as the key link," etc., Deng Xiaoping likewise has different views.

But if we think that since Deng Xiaoping criticizes Mao and points out some of Mao Zedong's mistakes, this would be tantamount to negating Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought, we would be terribly mistaken. Deng Xiaoping says solemnly: "Comrade Mao Zedong committed mistakes; those were the mistakes of a great statesman, the mistakes of a great Marxist" (Ibid, p 271). There is one purpose for Deng Xiaoping to speak of Mao Zedong's mistakes in his late years, and that is to draw a clear line between the correct things and the incorrect things in Mao Zedong's thinking before and after 1957 and to illustrate that Mao Zedong Thought is, generally speaking, correct and the incorrect ideas are only a relatively small part of Mao Zedong Thought. In a word, the reason Deng Xiaoping criticizes Mao is to protect Mao.

Third, Deng Xiaoping dares to criticize himself.

Self-Criticism

When responding to the questions of the Italian reporter Oriana Fallaci, Deng Xiaoping said: "You must take down my words, I have committed quite a few mistakes myself, including the mistakes committed by Comrade Mao Zedong which I shared; these can only be said to be mistakes committed with a good intent" (Ibid, p 312).

Several articles in "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" demonstrate Deng Xiaoping's courage to carry out self-criticism. In the article, "Adhere to the Party Line, Improve Our Working Methods," for example, Deng Xiaoping says, "In our anti-Rightist campaign in 1957, we were activists; for the expansion of this campaign I, therefore, am partly responsible, because I was the general secretary" (Ibid, p 241). In his talk with responsible comrades of the party Central Committee on 1 April 1980, Deng Xiaoping said: "Speaking of mistakes, we cannot just speak of Comrade Mao Zedong; many responsible comrades of the party Central Committee made mistakes. In the case of the 'Great Leap Forward,' Comrade Mao Zedong's head became heated; were not our own heads heated? Comrade Liu Shaoqi, Comrade Zhou Enlai, and myself all failed to indicate opposition; Comrade Chen Yun did not say anything" (Ibid, p 260). During the period of the preparatory meeting for the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee on 22 June 1981, when Deng Xiaoping mentioned problems and mistakes of the past in a speech, he also said, the responsibility for certain problems of the past should be shouldered by the collective to some extent; "Comrade Chen Yun and I were members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau at the time; at least the two of us had some responsibility" (Ibid, p 273). From 1979 to 1980, both Hua Guofeng and Wei Guoqing resuggested the slogan "Promote What Is Proletarian and Liquidate What is Bourgeois" and incurred reproach. At that time, people only blamed Hua Guofeng and Wei Guoqing; little did they know that this revival of the said slogan also involved Deng Xiaoping. He, therefore, criticized himself in the article "The Reform of Our Party and State Leadership System": "In respect to capitalism and the bourgeois ideology, we must of course also adopt a scientific attitude. Some time ago, the slogan

"Promote What Is Proletarian and Liquidate What Is Bourgeois" was revived in some localities for the sake of carrying out education in our revolutionary ideology; the pertinent documents in this regard were perused by me, and I did not feel that there was any problem at the time. Looking back today this slogan was neither comprehensive enough, nor very accurate" (Ibid, p 298).

In the works of other CPC leaders, especially the works of Mao Zedong, passages like those above which tell us how Deng Xiaoping was courageous enough to expose and examine himself are rare.

The Idea and Practice of Reform

Fourth, Deng Xiaoping dares to reform.

Running through the entire "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" is a red thread: the idea of reform. In this "Selected Works" are collected eight articles dated 1975 (after Deng's resumption of office); these articles share one central theme, and that is rectification. Deng Xiaoping was of the opinion that "our armed forces need to be rectified," "all aspects of our undertakings need to be rectified." He appealed with a great sense of urgency to ask everyone to help "make a go of our national economy." This rectification, in a certain sense, is no other than reform: there was need to turn the political situation of instability into one of stability; there was need to change continued political struggle into full devotion to economic construction. The "Selected Works" also includes 39 of Deng Xiaoping's articles after the downfall of the "gang of four"; from these articles, too, one can see Deng Xiaoping's idea of wishing to carry out reform on Mao Zedong's erroneous stuff.

Mao Zedong's "Leftist" ideas deviated from reality. Many articles in this "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" criticize such "Leftist" ideas, repeatedly stressing the ideological line of seeking truth from facts.

The political line in Mao Zedong's later years "takes class struggle as the key link." For many years, indiscriminate political struggles have greatly damaged the interests of the people and the innate strengths of the state. Deng Xiaoping has completely overthrown Mao Zedong's line and established the political line of singleminded pursuing economic construction.

During the early days after the downfall of the "gang of four," there were many taboo areas of dogmatism, the remnant poison of individual worship still prevailed, and the "two whatevers" constrained the CPC's operations. Deng Xiaoping broke through these fetters and changed the situation in which the ghost of "Leftist" deviation ruled the ideological realm.

In order to pursue economic construction, it was necessary to reassess the role of the intellectuals. Deng Xiaoping is opposed to the prejudice of the past in despising the intellectuals, discriminating against the intellectuals, and looking down upon mental labor and has done his best to promote efforts to pay attention to knowledge and the intellectuals and to put emphasis on science and educational enterprises. The article "Respect Knowledge, Respect Talents" reflects the fact that even before his resumption of office for the second time, he already had such ideas.

Deng Xiaoping also touches on the question of institutional reform. In summing up mistakes in the work of the past 30 years, especially the mistakes of the "Cultural Revolution," he thinks that people should, of course, take the responsibility for those mistakes, but institutions are also an important cause for the commitment of those mistakes. In his "Suggestions on the Drafting of the 'Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China,'" he says: "Talking about the mistakes of Comrade Mao Zedong himself alone cannot solve any problems; the most important question is the institutional one. Comrade Mao Zedong said many good things; but because institutions in the past were bad, they pushed them toward their opposite" (Ibid, p 261). In his article "The Reform of Our Party and State Leadership System," Deng Xiaoping further points out: "The mistakes we engendered in the past naturally had to do with certain leaders' ideas and workstyles, but problems with our organizational system and work system were even more important. If our institutions in these respects are good, they would make it impossible for bad people to do whatever they please; if otherwise, they would make it impossible for good people to do good things, or even to make them proceed in the opposite direction. Even a great personality like Mao Zedong was subject to the grave influence of certain bad institutions to the point that this resulted in a great misfortune both to the party and the state and to himself individually" (Ibid, p 293). Deng Xiaoping stresses the need to reform such institutions; he says: "Certain institutions of ours in the past were actually influenced by feudalism, including personal superstitions, patriarchy or the patriarchal workstyle, and including even lifetime tenure for our cadres. We are studying today how to avoid repeating such practices and are planning to take some initial steps on institutional reform" (Ibid, p 307). In his article on "The Reform of Our Party and State Leadership System," Deng Xiaoping executes a rather profound discourse on the question of institutional reform; he demands the repeal of the lifetime tenure system for cadres in the leading offices, he demands rejuvenation of party and government leadership organs at all levels, and he demands promotion of large contingents of fine middle-aged and young cadres to succeed the old cadres.

On economic principles and policies, Deng Xiaoping also goes entirely against the "leftist" workstyle of the past by stressing economic liberalization, such as reforming the excessively centralized economic systems, expanding local and enterprise autonomy, paying relative attention to the auxiliary role of market adjustment, practicing various forms of responsibility system, implementing the principle of to each according to his work, rationally making use of foreign capital and foreign technology, etc. Deng Xiaoping has done a great deal of change or modification with respect to Mao Zedong's economic egalitarianism and control and closed-door policies.

The four "dares" on Deng Xiaoping's part mentioned above can actually all be reduced to his dare to carry out reforms.

In daring to withstand the "gang of four," he meant to change the situation under the rule of the "gang of four"; in daring to withstand Hua Guofeng, he meant to change the ideological realm under the rule of the "two whatevers."

In daring to criticize Mao, he in fact dares to change Mao Zedong's erroneous line and erroneous ideas.

In daring to criticize himself, he in fact dares to change certain erroneous ideas in his own mind which fail to adapt to objective reality. From the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," we can see that the mistakes made in the past by Deng Xiaoping are similar in nature to the mistakes made by Mao Zedong. At the CPC's Eighth Congress, Deng Xiaoping supported the line of concentrated efforts to pursue construction and argued against individual worship; that was correct. The mistakes he made in the late 1950's had nothing to do with Rightism but with "Leftist" deviation. Many people regard Deng Xiaoping as a Rightist opportunist; this should be said to be entirely wrong.

Mao Zedong Thought in the Deng Xiaoping Era

If Deng Xiaoping's theories, viewpoints, and opinions can be termed Deng Xiaoping Thought, then this thought would be the abandonment of Mao Zedong Thought or abandoned Mao Zedong Thought.

It may also be said that Deng Xiaoping Thought is Mao Zedong Thought of the Deng Xiaoping era.

It may, of course, also be said that Deng Xiaoping has "developed Mao Zedong Thought."

Many articles in the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" repeatedly suggest and emphasize that Mao Zedong's merits are primary, whereas his mistakes are secondary; they repeatedly stress that the whole party must adhere to Mao Zedong Thought as its guiding ideology. In the past, there was a prevailing view that Deng Xiaoping was not really heartfeltdly upholding Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought but, in order to pacify the whatevers faction, the extreme Leftist faction, and the old cadres, here merely feigned singing his praise of Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought while changing Mao Zedong's line, principles and policies. This "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" self-evidently refutes such a view and forcefully proves that Deng Xiaoping's stubborn effort to defend Mao and Mao Zedong Thought is not some sophistry, nor any measure of expediency. But why should Deng Xiaoping endeavor to defend Mao and Mao Zedong Thought?

Why the Endeavor to Defend Mao

In his "Suggetsions on the Drafting of the 'Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China,'" he says: "This banner of Mao Zedong Thought cannot be abandoned. Its abandonment would in fact constitute a negation of the glorious history of our party" (Ibid, pp 262-263). "We cannot be excessive in writing about Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes. Doing so and smearing Comrade Mao Zedong would be smearing our party and our state"(Ibid, p 266).

In a word, the reason why Deng Xiaoping defends Mao or Mao Zedong Thought is because he wants to defend the party and its interests.

Of course, to Deng Xiaoping, the correct parts of Mao Zedong Thought are useful; they only needed to be supplemented in practice. For instance, Mao Zedong's principle of self-reliance still needs to be upheld, but one supplement is added, and that is namely the implementation of a policy of economic liberalization (Ibid, p 361). This supplementation constitutes also a "development" of Mao Zedong Thought.

Deng Xiaoping Thought or Mao Zedong Thought of the Deng Xiaoping era has already become the basis of all Communist Chinese decisions, principles and policies during the past few years. Therefore, it can be altogether said that Deng Xiaoping is the CPC's supreme policymaker and its helmsman.

After the downfall of the "gang of four," were it not because of Deng Xiaoping's resumption of office, had Hua Guofeng gone on serving as the CPC's supreme leader, the Communist Party would only have retrogressed and retreated toward its mistaken path of the past. Undeniably, Deng Xiaoping has rendered a meritorious service to the CPC unmatched by all other leaders of the party. The progress made by China in certain aspects during the past few years has also been the result of Deng Xiaoping's "development of Mao Zedong Thought" and his implementation of a rather open policy.

Deng Xiaoping Is Incapable of Entirely Solving a Series of Problems

Although Deng Xiaoping has been meritorious in protecting the party, it was impossible for him to quickly restore and improve the party's prestige or to overcome the prevailing crises in belief, confidence, and trust. Why?

Because it was impossible for him to solve a pile of difficult problems confronting the CPC and the country.

The '10-Year Crisis' Still Prevails

After the downfall of the "gang of four," the CPC and the country faced a very great danger, and that was that the influence of the "Left" still remained and retained even a given amount of strength. This situation was serious:

"We must pay attention, many of those who are opposed to the party's political line and ideological line are still with us today. Theirs is basically the ideological system of Lin Biao and the 'gang of four,' which regards what the party Central Committee resorts to now as retrogression, as Rightist opportunism.... Most of these people have reached where they are now during the Cultural Revolution; they have vested interests. They feel that everything now in force is not so beneficial to them; therefore, they reminisce a great deal about the past. After some work, some among them may be changed over, but not all of them can be so changed. If those who cannot be changed over are allowed to hold power, would they listen to the party? They would come out and play tricks as soon as they get a chance" (talk with participants at the Standing Committee meeting of the party committee of the navy, in "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 177).

Deng Xiaoping then indicated, between 1985 and 1989, a danger of the extreme "Left" staging a "comeback" might well appear. He said: "When I presided over the work of the party Central Committee in 1975, Wang Hongwen already said, Let us see how things go after 10 years. Today, we also have this question of seeing how things go 10 years hence. About the influence of Lin Biao and the 'gang of four' we must not underestimate and we must not think in any naive manner" (Ibid.). If calculated from 1975 on, it would be 10 years by 1985. If calculated from 1979 on, then that would be 1989.

In the talk at that time, Deng Xiaoping also succinctly pointed out: "If by then we are no longer around and the problem (i.e., problem about the party's organizational line --the author) is still not solved, then there will be universal disorder. You better not think that disorder is impossible in China" (Ibid, p 178).

Three months later, while making a report at the meeting of cadres of the central party, government and military organs above the level of vice ministers, Deng once again broached the question of danger 10 years hence. He said, Concerning Wang Hongwen's words about "seeing how things go after 10 years, "I talked about this with Comrade Li Xiannian at the time as to, after 10 years, what people like us would have come to look like. Speaking of age, we cannot possibly be their match in struggle; nor can other comrades present today. If those who adhere to the ideological system of the 'gang of four' are allowed to become power holders, you all can hardly be their match; how long can you live? And even if your lives still linger, your heads would have become useless; this is the law of nature" (Ibid, p 197).

In the very first month of the 1980's, when Deng Xiaoping spoke of the domestic situation, he once more broached the question of the extreme Left. He said: "The remnants of the 'gang of four' still exist in terms of organization and ideology. We cannot underestimate the amount of strength these remnants have; otherwise we would be making a mistake" (Ibid, p 216).

After another 8 months, in his speech at the enlarged meeting of the central Political Bureau, Deng Xiaoping again repeated such words (Ibid, p 283).

Thereafter, a speech made by Deng Xiaoping in March 1981 reflected that the question about the "Left" remained serious. He said: "Some cadres 30 to 40 years of age often have been influenced by the 'Left' and are used to looking at problems from the angle of the 'Left.' Some cadres in military units, including some old cadres, fail to understand our policies since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee; some think we are pursuing capitalism. This comes mainly from the influence of the 'Left'" (Ibid, p 335).

More than 3 months later, in his article "Speech on Problems on the Ideological Front," Deng again struck the bell of his warning Hua Guofeng in an attempt to overthrow this and that person; we must pay attention. This reflects the complexity of our struggle at the present and causes us to elevate the banner of upholding Hua and overthrowing Deng? Can they not be those on the "Left?"

The last article in "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" is his opening address at the 12th CPC Congress. Prior to the 12th Party Congress, Deng acknowledged that the forces of the "Left" were not negligible and there was also the danger

of their staging a comeback. Was the situation changed after the 12th Party Congress? The "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" cannot, of course, supply the answer in this regard. But, the situation today is known to everyone: the forces of the "Left" still exist, and the influence of the "Left" is still considerable. It should be said that one of the CPC's main dangers today is still "Left" deviationist thinking and the forces of the "Left." Most recently, some waves were again made in literary and art circles; some wanted to criticize the movie "Rendao Zhongnian" [When One Reaches Middle Age] which won the Hundred-Flower Award, suggesting that this was a movie with poisonous elements, that it "Kulian [Unrequited Love] No 2." Are the two films "Taiyang He Ren [The Sun and Man] and "Rendao Zhongnian" really poisonous weeds? Here we can see that "Leftist" ideas and forces are also like

The multitudinous grass in the plain,
Which goes through the cycle of decay and growth each year;
A prairie fire can hardly destroy it,
As it grows again when the spring wind blows.

The Lifetime Tenure System and Retirement System Are Difficult to Destroy and Establish

In order to turn Wang Hongwen's 10-year conjecture into an empty dream, Deng Xiaoping especially stresses the importance of the organizational line. The organizational line he proposed has a very important ingredient, and that is to let old cadres gradually step down and let relatively young cadres take over. To put this in Deng Xiaoping's words, it is a strategic measure which relates to the CPC's future. While making his report at the meeting of cadres of central party, government and military organs above the level of ministers on 2 November 1979, Deng Xiaoping explained the question of letting old cadres retire and the selection of successors. He said: old comrades and high-ranking cadres have a responsibility, and that is to seriously select successors well. "Old cadres are mostly around 60 years in age today; those over 60 probably make up a majority and their energy is, after all, beginning to fall short; otherwise why should some comrades choose to work at home? Why is it not possible for them to stand the 8 hours in the office? Among our comrades present, there are indeed those who can stand the 8 hours in the office, but whether or not they make up a half of the total I am rather doubtful. The experiences of our old comrades are rich; but on this question of their energy, they should have a clear self-knowledge. Take myself as example, my own energy now is far from being comparable to my energy in the past; I can still do when there are only two rounds of activities arranged for me in the forenoon and the afternoon; but when activities are arranged in the evening again, I then tend to feel inadequate. This is the law of nature, and no one can help it.... The problem we face now is the lack of a contingent of able-bodied cadres with professional knowledge. And without this contingent of cadres it would be impossible for us to pursue the four modernizations successfully. Our old comrades should see clearly that the matter of selecting successors cannot be allowed to drag. Otherwise, our pursuit of the four modernizations would become empty words" (Ibid, p 193).

From Deng Xiaoping's point of view, this decision to step down and let others take over involves not only the four modernizations but also "concerns the question of the downfall of the party and downfall of the state" (Ibid, p 352). "If we fail to solve this question within 3 or so years, no one knows what would happen 10 years hence. We must worry about our state, about our people, and about our party" (Ibid, p 194)! How gravely and with what great feeling Deng Xiaoping uttered this last sentence.

There is reason for Deng Xiaoping to express lamentation, for, in order to solve the problem about successor it is necessary at the same time to solve the problem of the old cadres' retirement and the repeal of the lifetime tenure system. Some come in, some must go out, these are the two sides of one question. But precisely on this question of retirement and this question of the repeal of the lifetime tenure system, great obstacles are encountered. Said Deng Xiaoping helplessly: "A few years ago I proposed pursuing a practice of installing advisers, but it could not be thoroughly carried out; many people do not want to become advisers. Viewing it today, the real solution of our problem depends not on this practice of installing advisers alone; the important thing is to establish a retirement system" (Ibid, p 198).

The practice of installing advisers merely aims at allowing the old cadres to step down. But, if even this practice cannot be thoroughly carried out, can it be that a retirement system would sail through smoothly? It, too, runs counter to the feelings of the cadres: "Would this not mean that the spearhead is directed at the oldsters now?" Deng Xiaoping says: "In my view, we cannot look at it this way; on this question we must cultivate self-awareness" (Ibid, p 199). This means that he is doing ideological work in the interests of the "oldsters."

But, he who does the persuading may speak earnestly, those who hear him may remain indifferent. Yet, Deng Xiaoping was not discouraged; in a speech at a central work conference, he once again reiterated the importance of the implementation of a retirement system and the repeal of the lifetime tenure system (Ibid, p 319), and patiently and earnestly urged the "old comrades" to take the tasks of turning over responsibilities and selecting successors repeatedly stressed by the party Central Committee during the past year and more "as their foremost, solemn duty" (Ibid, pp 319-320).

But reality turns out to be contrary to his wishes. Up to the time of the 12th Party Congress, that is about 1 September 1982, none of these problems proved to have been well solved. Deng Xiaoping also admitted:

"Our party constitution this time has failed to completely solve certain problems. For instance, the question of the lifetime tenure of leading office holders is touched upon but not entirely solved; the question of our retirement system is also not entirely solved...and we must also admit that our obstacles are multiplying. Of these obstacles, some are intentional and some are inadvertent; both situations are present" (Ibid, p 368).

When one enters a blind alley, one instinctively turns back. After failing to tackle one key problem, that of retirement, Deng Xiaoping was forced to tackle the problem of advisers again. On the eve of the 12th Party Congress he said: "We need an advisory committee to fare through the transition. This advisory committee should be said to be a transition through which our cadres' leadership duties evolve from a lifetime tenure system toward a retirement system. We intentionally adopt this approach in order to make the transition relatively smooth" (Ibid, p 369).

This transition is also meant for the old, weak cadres to pass through the advisory committee in crossing their farewell bridge to "see Marx." Deng Xiaoping said: If this transition can be smoothly brought about, it would also take 10 years; "by then how many of us present today will still be around...? In choosing this unprecedented form in our history, we are conforming to the realities within our party" (Ibid, p 369). After the retirement system was proposed several years, what came to be actually pursued at the time of the 12th Party Congress was still this transition "intended to create conditions for the establishment of the retirement system and the repeal of the lifetime tenure system on leadership posts" (Ibid).

The fact that this went through a lot of difficulties and troubles but still lacked sufficient results may be also "unprecedented in history."

The most serious problem lay with the armed forces. Not a few old cadres in the military units were unwilling to step down. Deng Xiaoping admitted, "in the military units this problem is especially serious and the difficulty for solving it is even greater" (Ibid).

Why is the road toward the establishment of the retirement system and the repeal of the lifetime tenure system so rough? In one word, many old cadres want to maintain the power in their hands ("Power is everything, the loss of power is the loss of everything"), so they simply decide not to move. This is namely a "reality within the party," which is also the party's grief!

Bureaucratic Privileges Cannot Be Eliminated

Power can corrupt people; many cadres are corrupted by power; their bureaucratism and their workstyle of the privileged become more and more serious. Can Deng Xiaoping solve this problem?

In his report at the meeting of cadres of central party, government and military organs above the level of vice ministers on 2 November 1979, Deng Xiaoping discussed in detail the question of particularization. He said: "During a period of time most recently, one of the main complaints among the masses of the people has been their opposition to the particularization of the cadres. When we come to discuss particularization, I am afraid it is probably first of all reflected in the high-ranking cadres.... This situation also prevails to some extent among the middle and lower strata of our cadres" (Ibid, p 188).

then, Deng Xiaoping criticized certain cadres for "putting themselves above the masses, officials and overlords, and some of their antics are really outrageous! Deviating from the masses, deviating from their fellow cadres. What is practiced above is also followed below; the customs of the officials are, therefore, led astray. In the past, did a party committee secretary, a county party committee secretary, a commune party committee secretary, have as much power as he does today? No!" (ibid, p 190). Deng Xiaoping also pointed out, particularization on the part of the high-ranking cadres, "in turn affect their own relatives and children, leading them astray, too" (ibid, pp 190-191). Bureaucratism has given rise to many things which cause people not to know whether they should cry or laugh. Deng Xiaoping unveiled many high-ranking cadres' "secrets"; "Today we don't have a system by which everyone must go to his office to work; many high-ranking cadres, therefore, are used to working at home. I am not saying that a small number of old, weak cadres cannot work at home; but in general, no one should do so. Many things can be solved by collective work in no time; why should we have documents passed back and forth and let everybody only draw circles on them? Isn't this bureaucratism? Some things are not solved even after half a year after many circles are drawn on them, and whether anybody agreed with or was opposed to them did not even become known" (ibid, p 191). Deng Xiaoping also compared the special treatment of the high-ranking cadres to the situation before the "Cultural Revolution." People in general might think that, after the "Cultural Revolution," the special treatment accorded to cadres had become rare; but facts prove to be exactly the contrary. Not without some feeling Deng Xiaoping said: "Certain practices which deviated from the masses, including those special treatments, already prevailed before the Cultural Revolution; but they were not so serious as we see today. At that time, people could still constrain themselves and were rather concerned about the masses; today, things are very different" (ibid, p 200).

In an article written in 1980, Deng Xiaoping also discussed the serious situation about particularization. He said: "Particularization is not limited to a part of our high-ranking cadres; it is prevalent at all levels and in all departments. In a word, some of our cadres have turned into overlords, period" (ibid, p 224). If such bureaucratism is not overcome, is there still any hope for the four modernizations? Deng Xiaoping's answer was negative. He said: "Today, both within our country and without our country, people generally feel that our staff outnumber available tasks, they practice bureaucratism, drag their feet in their operations, and spend their days everywhere in meetings and the drawing of circles on documents. Where many problems can be solved by a telephone call, they would drag for half a year and still remain unsolved. How can we pursue our four modernizations this way! Therefore, many foreigners say that if she pursues her four modernizations this way, China would have no hope. People inside the country also make such a complaint. This is true, and not false" (ibid, p 227). Deng Xiaoping's worries spring right off such pages.

In his article on "The Reform of Our Party and State Leadership System," Deng Xiaoping broached several current problems that needed reform, and one of them was excessive concentration of power. He regarded excessive concentration of power as an important cause for the rise of bureaucratism under new conditions. He said: "Speaking of our party and state leadership system and our cadre system, the drawback has to do with the phenomenon of bureaucratism, the phenomenon of excessive concentration of power, the phenomenon of a patriarchal system,

the phenomenon of a lifetime tenure system in our leadership offices, and various kinds of manifestation of privilege" (Ibid, p 287). Deng Xiaoping regarded "the phenomenon of bureaucratism as a big problem prevailing generally in the political life of our party and state" (Ibid). After citing all kinds of manifestations of bureaucratism, he pointed out: bureaucratism "has reached an intolerable degree whether in our domestic affairs or in our international intercourse" (Ibid.).

Soon after his second resumption of office, Deng Xiaoping already broached the questions of bureaucratism and particularization; but by the middle of 1980, not only were the questions still not solved but bureaucratism, in particular, had "reached an intolerable degree!" In the same article, Deng Xiaoping also discussed with emphasis the question of a patriarchal system. He said: "In quite a few localities and units there are always some patriarch-like personalities; their power is not subject to limitation; others must all obey whatever orders handed down to them, or even form their relationship of personal dependence upon them" (Ibid, pp 290-291).

During the past year or two, the CPC's high-ranking personalities and propaganda machine have energetically propagated that the reason why economic crimes arose among the ranks of the cadres was because they were subjected to external, bourgeois corruption; but the real situation was that the ranks of their cadres themselves became corrupt in the first place. This internal cause was the principal one. On this point, Deng Xiaoping also acknowledged. He said: "At present, there are also some cadres who do not regard themselves as public servants of the people but as masters of the people, by seeking privileges, and particularization, and hence causing the masses to feel strongly resentful and damaging the party's prestige. If not resolutely rectified, they are bound to erode the ranks of all our cadres" (Ibid, p 292). Sometimes Deng Xiaoping also broached a "theory of external causes"; but his "theory of internal causes" has greater logical force than his "theory of external causes."

Entering by the backdoor is a disease of officialdom in China that is known to the whole world: "Some cadres take advantage of their office and power, illegally arrange to have their relatives and friends move into the cities, to get jobs, and to promote their cadres; such practices are still rather numerous" (Ibid, p 295). About the degenerate conduct of cadres and their children Deng Xiaoping feels really profoundly distressed. He says: "Some children of our cadres, or even cadres themselves, have, for the sake of going abroad and making money, violated our laws and our discipline, resorted to smuggling and the taking of bribes, resorted to speculation and double-dealing, not hesitated to sacrifice their personal dignity or the dignity of their country or the self-respect of their nation; this is very shameful" (Ibid, pp 297-298).

In this whole volume of the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," there are many places which mention privileges and particularization. Deng Xiaoping really has the subjective desire to overcome bureaucratism and to eliminate the phenomenon of particularization. But his obstacles are numerous, and he can hardly move one single step forward. Why can these two devils of bureaucratism and privilege swashbuckle across the land of China without any scruples? Why has Deng Xiaoping become nearly totally disarmed by them?

Notorious Cases of Corruption Cannot Be Handled

In recent years, people have also made many complaints about corrupt officials apart from their resentment against the particularization of the cadres in general. In 1981, the CPC launched its attacks against economic criminal offenses, and the main thrust was against corruption.

In his article on "Resolutely Crackdown on Economic Criminal Activities," Deng Xiaoping mentioned the fact that the situation about economic criminal activities is very serious.

"The people engulfed by economic criminal activities are not in small numbers but numerous. The seriousness of these criminal activities is not something that can be compared to the time of the 'three antis' and 'five antis.' At that time, corruption involving more than 1,000 yuan would be termed a 'small tiger,' whereas corruption involving more than 10,000 yuan would be termed a 'big tiger.' Today, whoever is arrested turns out often to be a 'big tiger...' There are more notorious cases today, and they are all very bad in nature, and those who commit corruption at the expense of the interests of the state are all not just '10,000-yuan grabbers.' Some are individual criminals, and some are collective criminals. Available data of the central commission for the inspection of discipline indicate that--it was during this past year or two, too--great amounts of gold and silver were smuggled into Hong Kong. This item alone caused the state to lose a great deal of foreign exchange. A great deal of money fell into the pockets of private individuals or the pockets of certain collectives. If the properties stolen from the public treasury are included, the figure would be far higher. We must take this situation sufficiently into our consideration. This trend has risen drastically. If our party fails to pay serious attention and fails to arrest this trend, then the question would really rise as to whether or not our party and state would 'change color.' This is not just alarmist talk" (Ibid, pp 357-358).

Since the worsening of the situation about economic crime would even give rise to the question of whether or not the party and state would "change color," then there is no need to further mention the four modernizations (Ibid, p 359). Therefore, Deng Xiaoping wants to "resolutely arrest this trend."

However, after working at it for some 3 months and more, the situation hardly made Deng Xiaoping feel fully satisfied. He said: "Today, the problems we see are already rather numerous; the situation about economic crimes is very serious; many cases cannot be handled without a hitch" (Ibid, p 364).

Cases becoming impossible to handle without a hitch: the situation has been exactly so. Up to the present, while some results have been achieved in the crackdown on economic criminal activities, such results are limited; many "big tigers" still lead their calm lives with leisure and with not a single hair of theirs damaged. Does this problem not warrant people's profound reflection?

Many articles in the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" also broach other problems, which all look like difficult problems very hard to solve. Take, for example, the question of factionalism. Deng Xiaoping pays very great attention to this and thinks that it must be solved. But "some people just insist on embracing that factionalism. There are plenty of people whose factionalism ranks higher than their party character, including certain old party members of ours" (Ibid, p 232).

Is It Possible To Break Through the Limitations of History?

The question of the "Leftist" faction, the question of retirement, the question of the lifetime tenure system, the question of bureaucratic privileges, the question of economic crimes...all of these look to Deng Xiaoping like big problems relating to the CPC's life and death. In terms of his subjective wishes, Deng Xiaoping intends to eliminate these intraparty crises; but after a period of efforts, or even a long period of efforts, these problems still remain unsolved. The CPC is very mindful about talking about its intraparty crises; it avoids talking about its crisis of belief, crises of confidence, and crisis of trust. But all of these exist objectively and do not hinge on your avoidance of talking about them. Actually, some communists do have authentic materialist ambitions. One article written by Lenin in 1921 was entitled precisely "Intraparty Crises" ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 32, pp 26-33). In that article Lenin spoke in minute detail of the situation of ramification and the danger of a split within the party; those divided on the two sides of the conflict were all pointed out by their names. Such articles are quite numerous in the "Complete Works of Lenin," but how many among the leaders of the CPC have exhibited such frankness, such sincerity and such determination?

Why can Deng Xiaoping not solve, or entirely solve, a series of major problems?

The reasons are complicated, and they are not necessarily immune from analysis.

Because of limited space, I cannot make a detailed analysis here (but hope to write another article before long); I can only suggest several questions.

Viewed as a whole, passages touching on the question of the "Left" and the danger about the "Left" in the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" are rather numerous; but they were authored basically vis-a-vis the remnant partisans of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." And the proportion of anti-"Rightist" discussions of the present is somehow heavier than those anti-"Leftist" ones in terms of quantity and momentum. Would this cause people to feel that "Left" is still better than "Right?" Would this cause the "Leftist" faction to harbor their fancies? And would this prove disadvantageous to anti-"Leftist" thoroughness?

Viewed as a whole, there is not an insignificant amount of space in the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" devoted to the discussion of the question of resistance against retirement and separation from office, the question of obstructing efforts to make the leading groups younger, the question of bureaucratic

privileges, and the question of economic crimes. At the same time, the analysis of such questions are profound; particular hard to come by in that they touch on the question of the institutions involved and point out that faulty institutions lead to malpractices. But are those institutions that should be reformed all discovered? Are they all pointed out? Is there a certain most crucial, irrational institution in existence because of which all sorts of malpractices have multiplied and from which other faulty institutions have stemmed, yet such an institution of a fundamental character is overlooked?

Viewed as a whole, a spirit of opposition to the patriarchal system runs through many articles. Deng Xiaoping attributes the main causes of the major mistakes repeatedly made by the CPC summarily to Mao Zedong's patriarchy, rule by his voice alone, culminating in a system of "excessive concentration of power." But, even today, is not a situation of excessive concentration of power still prevailing? Is it not still a case of many major issues and major matters (or even minute ones) requiring a certain leader to call the tune, nod his head, and set the pace before they can be decided or solved? Many articles in this "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" place exceptional emphasis on "centralization," suggesting that "at present and for a considerable period in the future, there is need to further stress (in contrast to democracy--author) that those things that should be centralized must be conscientiously centralized in order to improve our efficiency somewhat? (Ibid, p 246). Would such a view not tend to give the green light to the continued prevalence of the practice of "excessive concentration of power" and even of patriarchy?

Articles collected in the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" are all dated between 1975-1982. Perhaps in 1983 Deng Xiaoping would have an even more penetrating, insightful, and surprising pen. We hope that, as the CPC's helmsman, the core of "the core force leading our cause forward," he can score a breakthrough in the ascertaining of the sources of illness in the present-day institutions and thereby display the prospect of the key link being grasped, and so, therefore, the other links, and of a series of major questions readily awaiting their solution. To achieve this, perhaps, may be as difficult for this esteemed elder statesman as it is for him to climb Mount Zhumulangma. Can Deng Xiaping break through the limitations of history?

I only wish that an unexaggerated, affirmative answer would be heard.

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MEANING OF DENG XIAOPING'S SELECTED WORKS ANALYZED

Hong Kong Ch'I-SHI NIEN-TAI [THE SEVENTIES] in Chinese No 8, Aug 83 pp 50-53

[Article by Mufu [3668 1133]: "The Victory of Deng Xiaopingism"]

[Text] Editor's Note: Sparing no effort to break the shackles of Maoism while also vigorously defending Mao and pleading Mao's case while wavering in contradiction between carrying on and seeking change. History has provided him opportunity, and he has a first-rate ability to act in emergencies; however, at a time when the democratic system has yet to be established, he is only a good emperor.

The "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" "Deng's Selected Works," for short, were distributed both at home and abroad on the anniversary of the Communist Party of China this year. Except for Mao Zedong, the "brilliant works" of no other Chinese Communist leader have ever been published during his lifetime. Without doubt, publication of "Deng's Works" holds extraordinary significance.

According to NENA, "Deng's Selected Works" sold more than 2 million copies on the very first day, and on the same day RENMIN RIBAO devoted four whole pages of coverage to an evaluative article and to Deng Xiaoping's keynote report at the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. It hailed "Deng's Selected Works" as "a brilliant work at a great turning point in history." All major newspapers also published editorials, and subsequently all official organizations and the CPC Central Committee issued a notice calling for conscientious organization of the study of "Deng's Selected Works." The report said that a mass fervor for such study has taken place throughout the country. Overseas, sales of this selected work likewise enjoyed a seldom seen ready market. They were much sought after, and in Hong Kong several thousand copies were sold out as soon as they went on sale.

This was somewhat similar to the situation when "Mao's Selected Works" first reached the market, and this has aroused apprehensions among some people about a revival of the cult of personality. People remember that Deng Xiaoping attacked the former method of studying "Mao's Works" as "exorbitant

taxes and levies," and believe that he has learned a lesson. From the publication angle, this is a fine situation that should be welcomed. Chinese communist news dissemination has always been extremely mysterious and rigidly stratified, with no communication between upper and lower echelons. Internal documents have been closely guarded, so the distribution of "Deng's Selected Works" comes close to being the release of several tens of articles that have not been made public during the past several years, and this is progress no matter how you look at it.

The welcome accorded "Deng's Selected Works" naturally reflects people's keen interest in the development of China's modernization. Deng has been the chief architect and principal spokesman for new Chinese Communist policies. The publication of his selected works may be regarded as a sign that China is entering the "Deng Xiaoping era." These collected works that treat China's most pressing problems today provide authoritative data for scholars.

Required Reading that Maintains the Unity of Central Authority

There must be a certain background to the publication of "Deng's Selected Works."

A look at the content of the selected works shows that only one of 47 articles, "A Major Principle in Handling Relations With Fraternal Parties," pertains to international issues. The others are on domestic issues, and the emphasis on domestic issues is only post-1977 reorganization and restructuring.

In terms of time, this book should ordinarily have appeared at a somewhat later date, because many of the issues treated in the book, whether political, economic, cultural, or military pertain to ways of dealing with situations that are still in the experimental stage and have not matured. If, for example, the book had been published in 1985 when Deng has promised to retire, that might have made more sense.

However, Deng departed from his normal practice of "doing much and saying little" to break convention and publish the selected works. RENMIN RIBAO's explanation may be enlightening in this regard: (See the 1 July article by Li Qi [2621 3823]).

"An overwhelming majority of people support the line followed since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, but some people have a muddled understanding of it and doubts exist in their minds. They either have a misconception about the smashing of the cult of personality and harbor doubts about prevailing policies, or they worry about a return to the 'leftist' road of the past and fear that policies will change. Study of this book... makes possible clarification of some people's muddled understanding, thereby better unifying thinking, and maintaining political unanimity with the central authorities."

Study of "Deng's Selected Works" "will be another indoctrination of party members and may be ideological preparation for the beginning of party rectification."

At the time of the Yanan rectification, distribution of Mao Zedong's documents on rectification also heralded a housecleaning. This shows that not only are there people today who do not understand or even reproach the non-Maoist line of the Third Plenary Session, but that they cannot be underestimated, and it is possible for events to come to a somewhat threatening point.

RENMIN RIBAO called upon those who "maintain political unity with the central authorities" to have confidence mostly in party members at all levels in the power structure and in those with power to influence the masses. Since 1977, there has been steady evidence that conservative forces in the military are the main representatives of those who refuse to go along with Deng Xiaoping's line. Deng Xiaoping is now 79 years old, and he has no choice but to act concurrently as head of both the party and state military commissions, and the time when he will leave them to retire is only a couple years away. If the second echelon headed by Hu Yaobang is unable to control military authority, then Deng Xiaoping's plans to turn over power to successors will suffer defeat.

Before completing a strategic action, it is necessary to establish an authoritative political ideology and to legitimize it. This has been a rule that the Chinese Communists have followed for several decades in contending for power and ruling the country, and the appearance of "Deng's Selected Works" is precisely for the purpose of establishing such an authority, and for unifying and controlling the thinking of the whole party and the whole country in order to solve problems organizationally.

The urgency brought about by difficulties in transfer of power has been a major motivation for publication of "Deng's Selected Works." This is entirely different from the publication of the first four volumes of "Mao's Selected Works," and is more like the 1977 publication of five volumes of "Mao's Selected Works." All factional thinkers hoped to benefit from the editing and publication of these five volumes of "Mao's Selected Works" to consolidate their positions, but they did not succeed in their purpose.

Follower of Zhou and Liu and a Man of Action

The thinking and experience of Deng Xiaoping is generally acknowledged to have played a guiding role in China's entry into the historical process centering around the four modernizations. At a time when a new Confucian orthodoxy may be established, we may be able to refer to Deng's selected works and his practice to make a simple evaluation of Deng Xiaopingism.

Among the Chinese Communist factions of the old generation, the one headed by Liu Shaoqi and Zhou Enlai was frequently termed the realistic faction or the moderate faction. They had fairly good family origins and educational backgrounds, and had been gradually influenced by both oriental and occidental culture and Marxism. They were the leading figures in the Chinese bureaucracy. Though in the process of long-term attachment and allegiance to Mao Zedong, they too had committed numerous stupidities; nevertheless, they were less fanatical and rigid, and did not function in such a blind ideological

way. Instead, they paid more attention to real effectiveness. Their policies for running the county were realistic, or termed opportunistic. Though, admittedly, this grew out of their own ideas, it was antithetical to the paternalistic imperiousness of Mao Zedong.

Deng Xiaoping was the number three person in this faction. His famous remark that "No matter whether the cat is black or white, so long as it catches rats it is a good cat," vividly and colorfully depicts the true essence of the realist faction. This famous straightforward remark actually runs through all his subsequent words and actions. His support for "practice is the sole standard for verifying truth," his opposition to "everything proceeds from books," his criticism of the "two whatevers," his advocacy of "seeking of truth from facts," his opposition to rigidity in thinking, on down to his series of new economic policies of promoting responsibility systems in which output is contracted to households, and the introduction of foreign capital are all embodiments and developments of the white cat, black cat thesis. In September 1978, in a talk with leaders in Jilin Province, he said, "If speed of development of productivity in socialist countries is slower than in capitalist countries over a long historical period, what superiority are we talking about?" He even pointed out that in current discussions of the issue of theory having to be tested by practice that his own thinking was rigid.

Following 30 years of twists and turns, with the end of Mao's dictatorship, among the Chinese Communist leadership a fairly enlightened advocacy of new democracy has finally been put into practice. Liu Shaoqi's advocacy of the development of capitalism and more plots for private use, more free markets, more enterprises with sole responsibility for their own profits and losses, and the fixing of output quotas on a household basis died tragically in a dark Kaifeng prison. Though Zhou Enlai played a slight role as a buffer against the extreme leftist countercurrent, his sense of loyalty to the monarch and self-protection made history pay a higher price. Deng Xiaoping had the good fortune to be the first of the realistic faction to succeed, and though history provided him this lucky chance, to be sure, nevertheless, his will and courage have earned people's respect. In the position of supreme power, he has made full use of the administrative ability accumulated over a long period of time; he has made China's economy dynamic, and he has taken a course of opening up.

From beginning to end, these 260,000-word selected works carry into effect the clear, realistic spirit of a realist in national affairs acting as circumstances dictate. Matters pertaining to major theoretical questions are also only narrated with directness and simplicity. His judgments derive from experience rather than from concepts and philosophy. Clearly he has extreme self-confidence in his own political experiences of more than half a century, which are his storehouse of knowledge. It was historically inevitable that the realistic features of Deng Xiaopingism should have received the support of the people in a country that had been unprecedentedly plundered, spiritually and materially.

Deng Is Not Khrushchev

The appraisal of Mao Zedong that "Deng's Selected Works" provides attracts most attention, and it is also the most important part. A total of 14 articles address the Mao appraisal issue, beginning with the article of May 1977 titled, "Two Whatevers' Is Not in Keeping With Marxism."

Despite implementation of a whole series of policies that were vehemently opposed while Mao was still alive, every effort is made to protect Mao's "historical position," and to "support Mao Zedong Thought." The usual explanation for this perplexing phenomenon is that it was a matter of expediency to give ground in order to maintain power, or else that it reflected the realistic faction's style of seeking the practical no matter the form.

"Deng's Selected Works" show that violent controversy has taken place within the Communist Party between criticism of Mao and support of Mao. They demonstrate further that criticism of Mao was not "lack of approval" by the workers, peasants and cadres, but genuine lack of approval, with the ones not approving being at a high level in the Communist Party of China, primarily old comrades in arms of Mao headed by Deng. The selected works reveal that Chinese Communist criticism of Mao was carried out entirely under control of Deng himself. From formulation of the principle of "Need for Crudity and Not Refinement," and the "70-30 Ratio" determination up to the careful wording of the historical resolution criticizing Mao, he was firmly in control. He defended Mao in every possible way, pleaded his case, and used his huge prestige to put forward and "establish" the following arguments:

1. Much talk about the correct things Mao did.
2. Everyone had a part in mistakes; they cannot be heaped on a single person.
3. Mao's mistakes positively cannot be capsulized as individual character problems.
4. To blacken Mao is to blacken the party and the country.
5. One cannot say that the Ninth Party Congress was illegal, or that the Cultural Revolution was counter-revolutionary in nature, nor can one say that the Cultural Revolution was a mistaken line.
6. Mao was a great revolutionary who made mistakes because of certain defects in the system that pushed him to the other extreme.
7. Mao made a self-criticism with regard to the Great Leap Forward and the Great Cultural Revolution.
8. Without China, there would be no new China; Mao rescued the party and the country from crisis several times.

Defense of Mao by Deng, who was toppled twice by Mao only to rise again, was certainly most effective in the same way that only the anticommunist Nixon was able to undertake the opening of Sino-American relations. Deng Xiaoping had two reasons for defending Mao as follows:

The first was a realistic reason. Mao had, without doubt, committed great crimes against the party and the country; however, looked at not in terms of modern concepts of rule by law but in terms of traditional feudal concepts, it was impossible to sever the relationship of countless ties to him. Deng said that criticism of Mao is beneficial to "the image of the whole country and the whole party," but if this banner of Mao Zedong Thought were to be lost,

that would "negate the party's brilliant history." For this reason, Deng emphasized the need to put Mao "in a proper context," and "to put up with his mistaken views." He simplistically explained the reason for sharing responsibility with Mao as "being tenable and having many advantages." It is easy to see that Deng's criticism of Mao has as its total point of departure the maintenance of existing political power, and is deeply colored by feudal requirements of filial piety and does not proceed from an objective, historical and righteous point of view. This is yet another application of his utilitarianism.

The second was his individual credentials. Looked at historically, in Chinese Communist factional struggles Deng Xiaoping was a person that Mao Zedong felt was not threatening and who could be used. Before founding of the Chinese People's Republic, Deng had supported Mao's guerrilla line; he was not a member of the internationalist faction. Following founding of the People's Republic, Deng was in the forefront of opposition to Gao Gang and Rao Shushi, and against the rightist. Deng, who did not become a member of the Central Committee until the Seventh Party Congress, because secretary general and first premier as a result of having found deep favor with Mao. At the Eighth Party Congress in 1956, he became the fourth star. His active carrying out of Mao's anti-Soviet line shows that his criticism of the cult of personality at the Eighth Party Congress was nothing more than the prevalent way of doing things at that time. Though criticized during the Cultural Revolution, in the 11th Plenary Session of the Eighth Party Central Committee, when Liu Shaoqi was preparing to head off a crisis through the casting of many votes, he expressed capitulation to Mao. As a result, he was dealt with entirely differently from Liu. Moreover, when Mao needed to clear up the debacle of the Great Cultural Revolution, that Wan Hairong [3769 3189 1369] brought him in on his arm to attend a state banquet and remount the stage was not difficult to understand. By 1975, when Zhou Enlai was seriously ill, Deng had taken over major control of the party, government and armed forces. Had it not been for Jiang Qing's challenge, he would have been the natural successor. Therefore, Deng's statement to Anna Fallaci that during the Cultural Revolution people in the Mao faction protected him, that he pinned his hopes on Mao, and that he knew that Mao understood him is credible. We cannot underestimate the roll of "human feelings" in Chinese sociopolitical relationships.

A careful pondering of the wording and tone of criticisms of Mao in "Deng's Selected Works" can lead to an understanding of a set of entirely different value concepts. For example, to say that Khrushchev's criticism of Stalin served a meritorious purpose is a categorical statement. But Deng Xiaoping is not Khrushchev, and he lacks sufficient boldness to be a Khrushchev. He said, "We cannot treat Chairman Mao the way that Khrushchev treated Stalin." These words were positively not for show.

I do not believe that posterity will completely accept Deng's concepts. Deng has overlooked a harsh reality, and that is that China's 20 years of hardships were directly related to Mao's unique "70-30 ratio" evaluation of Stalin. In fact, Mao further intensified a repetition of Stalin's "tragedy." As to whether Deng will inherit future trouble as a result of his defense of Mao remains to be seen.

Still Maoist in Essence

There is a saying in China: "Relaxation brings chaos, and chaos brings a firm grip, and a firm grip causes death." This is a summarization of Chinese Communist policies, which have oscillated incessantly to the left and the right for 30 years. A vicious cycle of relaxation and restraint, and wrangling has symbolized the era of Mao Zedong, and is also one of the reasons why people have lost confidence.

Deng Xiaoping has repeatedly emphasized the stability of the new policies; however, changes are unquestionable. It can only be hoped that the changes will tend to be beneficial and moderate. "Deng's Selected Works" record the track that policy changes followed.

In 1978, a call was made for emancipation of thinking, and there was much discussion of democracy and the rule of law. People had just begun to unburden their feelings and become engaged in the issues of human rights and criticism of Mao. In March 1979, a proposal was made for "support of the four basic principles," and in May 1980 this was raised to support for the party leadership. In 1981, began a criticism of "bourgeois liberalization," with the banning of citizen publications and the arrest of youths involved in citizens' movements. In 1982, silence reigned supreme, and what remained was everybody "pursuing money." "Deng's Selected Works" tell us that though Deng Xiaopingism has done its utmost to break the shackles of Maoism, and has hoped to accomplish something worthwhile, nevertheless, essentially it bears a deep Maoist stamp. Simultaneous with the carrying out of non-Maoist restructuring of the economy and of the system, it has revealed numerous contradictions between continuing on and seeking change. On some fundamental issues in running the country, it has been unable to fly out of the Mao nest. This results from the conservatism of Deng Xiaopingism. Let me try to provide some examples as follows:

1. Opposition to the lack of distinction between party and government and party interference in everything, but yet making party leadership absolute. "Deng's Selected Works" have deleted important plans for restructuring of the party and for the national leadership system, e.g., cancellation of CPC committee leadership of plant director responsibility systems, yet this idea was still kept on page 234. In 1957, this had been substantially ruled out as being a "rightist concept." However, in emphasizing the four basic principles to be maintained, and particularly maintenance of party leadership, he again spoke in absolute terms, stating categorically more than once that "without the leadership of the Communist Party, the country would be in great chaos and disintegration." He did not say that there are a lot of countries without "leadership of the party," and in talking about China's Cultural Revolution, Deng acknowledged party leadership at that time, yet there was unprecedented chaos in China. Since he acknowledged that today's party leadership does not meet the needs of the four modernizations, and emphasized that among the 40 million party members, "considerable numbers are unqualified," by what logic can party rule be enforced on the people? Marx and Lenin despised the bureaucratic systems of Prussia and Czarist Russia,

and they fervently hoped that the people would establish democratic self-government once the revolution had succeeded. It was Stalin who turned the party of the workers into the master of the workers, bureaucratized the party, and instituted a single-party dictatorship above the state, and Mao Zedong followed in Stalin's footsteps.

2. Exaggeration of enemy activities, deliberate exaggeration to create a sensation, and scaring the people at every turn with talk of "the rivers and mountains will change color," and "people's heads will roll." These are the tactics of incitement that the Mao faction has been in the habit of using, and they are a reflection of an abnormal psychology that has resulted in the creation of countless terrifying incidents. On the one hand, Deng Xiaoping criticizes expansion of class struggle and opposes political campaigns, while, on the other hand, he emulates Mao in saying frightening things just to scare people. He frequently says that anything not to his liking is "making a grave mistake" or will "ruin the party and the country." Factionalist elements who do not come clean will ruin the party and the country; failure to criticize the speech of Ye Wenfu [0673 2429 4395] at Beijing Teachers College will ruin the party and the country; and failure to streamline government organizations will ruin the party and the country. Some people suppose this is nothing but talk and the venting of anger. This is really not so. Such utterances are followed by resolute action and stringent measures.

At the Central Work Conference of December 1980, Deng said with regard to "disturbances by rebel factions" in individual units that the people's memories of the hardships of the Cultural Revolution are still fresh, so how can factions be allowed to "foment a second Great Cultural Revolution?" This was cut from the same cloth as the "resurgence of capitalism, and the suffering of oppression and exploitation all over again" that was current before the Cultural Revolution. It is common knowledge among the people that the Cultural Revolution was aroused as a result of Mao's expenditure of very great energy from top to bottom, which was no easy matter.

3. On the one hand, Deng attacks Mao's "paternalism," and "one person alone having the say," and opposes overconcentration of authority. On the other hand, he emphasizes concentration of authority in the new Central Committee, emphasizes "a high degree of centralized concentration," and "of particular importance is the whole party's subordination to the Central Committee." Deng's Selected Works" show that for the past several years, virtually all major decisions have come out of Deng's cerebrum. Of course, that these policies were workable and welcomed was fortuitous for the country. However, we cannot help but be uneasy about the country's security being in the hands of a single person. Deng and his line are in keeping with the interests and the desires of the people; however, this positively does not mean they are fully in keeping or will forever be in keeping. In addition, Deng's person reveals the customary authoritarian air of Chinese Communist leaders.

For example, on questions about expressions of views that arose in the emancipation of thinking he said, "There can be positively no propagation of

freedom of speech, freedom of the press, or freedom of assembly or association for any group that includes counterrevolutionaries, and positively no one will be permitted to turn his back on the party to carry on relations with these people." "On such matters, we have never 'let up,' and naturally 'tightening up' needs no discussion. When have we ever said that the activities of counterrevolutionary elements and all sorts of sabotaging elements would be permitted?" (p 218). Logically speaking, this Maoist tone is fallacious reasoning. If one is a "counterrevolutionary element," how would he have the right to speak out since the people of China were long ago deprived of individual rights? And if one is not a counterrevolutionary, does he enjoy the aforesaid freedom? At least only after enjoying freedom would it be possible to judge whether one was counterrevolutionary.

4. The concept of following old ways. "Deng's Selected Works" contain some subconscious revelations that diverge from contemporary consciousness. Let me cite some examples:

Raising the slogan of a spiritual civilization holds positive significance for a country that is "poor and blank." One of the lessons of the past 30 years has been the need to junk policies that keep people in ignorance, and to promote modern education in order to be able to extricate ourselves from the destiny of being constantly "taken in." However, in a speech he gave in 1980, "good material conditions and does not require a very high degree of education" to be built. It has served from Yanan to Beijing. (p 326). At the same time, he condemned people for conducting "ridiculous criticisms" using the "solemn revolutionary slogans" of "not for personal benefit at all but solely for the benefit of the people," and "fearing neither hardships nor death," which were not only not stopped but gained sympathy and support.

In speaking about the issue of handling "troublemaking," Deng said that this is a political struggle conducted within the purview of the law, and he called upon cadres "to learn how to use legal weapons to struggle against antiparty and antisocialist forces and all kinds of criminal elements." He said this was a "new topic" in perfecting democracy and rule by law." So laws are only a weapon in the hands of the party! Since this is so, everything from the trial of Jiang Qing to the arrest of civilian demonstrators has been decided by the party, so what judicial independence is there?

Past Master in the Political Arena

During the long period of dog-eat-dog struggle in the top echelons in Communist China, no one but Deng Xiaoping has performed the miracle of "three downs and three ups," and having a greater expansion of power with each resurrection. Though Zhou Enlai had a reputation as a "roly-poly," he finally died in despondence, sighing with unrealized aspirations. But in his declining years, Deng Xiaoping achieved power and the pinnacle of glory, and people cannot help but try to find out the secret of this.

The ancients said that whoever understands the times is a great man. In the power struggle, Deng judged the hour and seized the situation, and his ability to adapt was first rate. The three incidents involving Peng Dehuai, Liu Shaoqi, and the gang of four provide testimony.

He can be exhibited a strong party spirit in opposing Gao Gang, and in the struggle against rightists, was loyal to the left faction on Mao's line, and also supported the Great Leap Forward for a time, he sympathized with Peng Dehuai's stand in attacking the three red banners [the General Line, the Great Leap Forward, and the People's Commune]. When he learned that a vicious battle would take place at the Lushan Conference, he avoided it by taking leave on account of illness (Zhou Enlai likewise slipped away in mid-course) to avoid an awkward situation and to preserve his power.

According to disclosures during the Cultural Revolution, in 1966 when he saw that the Mao faction was irresistible, Liu Shaoqi allied with the influential faction for a contest of strength with Mao at the 11th Party Congress Plenum, but later transferred allegiance, thereby bringing about a change in the power ratio. Deng avoided being sacrificed, and actually after Lin Biao's army controlled Beijing, any opposition was to no avail.

Most dramatic was his reemergence between 1973 and 1976. In order to salvage popular opinion following betrayal by Lin Biao, Mao needed a high-ranking figure. In addition, Zhou Enlai interceded, so actually Deng, who was only "down but not out," became the appropriate choice. Deng also fervently made a guarantee "never to reverse the verdict," so both sides had face and a deal was successful. After coming to power, he made vigorous efforts to turn the tide. In 1976, he was again fired. Deng was seemingly extremely quiet and resolute, and neither gave in nor compromised because he knew that the Mao era would soon come to a close, and the tremendous power he wielded in 1975 gave him confidence that after Mao's passing there would be no one to oppose him.

His struggle with the gang of four clearly included a wise assessment of the political situation. To be sure, he had a strong personality, and once power was in his hands, he dared to act swiftly, fiercely, and dictatorially to do as he saw fit. Like Mao, he could not admit error readily, and the use of his support for Gao and Rao could not be overturned. The rightists had been rehabilitated, but in the selected works, he continues to harp that "the rightist are unregenerate and must be opposed." Moreover, he has held even less on the struggle against Soviet revisionism in which he engaged. His resolute dispatch of troops to Vietnam, his arrest of civilian demonstrators and his defense of Mao all show his powerful personality. He termed himself a "country bumpkin" to foreign reporters, and he never dabbled in writing. He lacks Mao's flair and he does not have the poise of Zhou Enlai, but he speaks with fervor and assurance, and is not at all confused on important matters; nor can he be fooled in writing.

The emergence of Deng Xiaopingism at this particular moment has achieved a ruling position in a great country with a 1 billion population. This is a historical victory. Nevertheless, we are still unwilling to praise it unreservedly, not only because numerous problems still exist in domestic government and foreign relations and there are still numerous irrational components in policies, and not only because of a certain appraisal of his prospects, but fundamentally because one can only adopt a critical standpoint toward any ruler. Experience has shown this to be particularly true for

Communist Party people. People in Shanghai appreciate Deng's policies extraordinarily, but they say "One should speak only good things at home, but criticize outside. One cannot praise those people." At a time when the democratic system has yet to be genuinely established, Deng Xiaoping is, at best, only a good emperor. Progress today positively does not result from the leadership of a certain strong man or a certain party, but rather a great people have paid a heavy price for it.

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CSO: 4005/1075

DENG'S INFLUENCE ON FUTURE OF HONG KONG DISCUSSED

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 70, Aug 83 pp 6-8

[Column in "Casual Observations During Trip to the North" by Lo Bing [5012 0393]: "Deng Xiaoping and the Future of Hong Kong"]

[Text] A Place Watched by International Statesmen

Near Dongjiaomin Lane in Beijing, a forlorn building recently became suddenly noisy and turned itself into a focus of attention of international statesmen. On 12, 13 July (and again in late July) a contingent of overseas reporters with full mechanical equipment marched in force toward this abode of peeling walls and weedy gardens, where they watched with greedy eyes all those who entered and left this foreign building. The objects of their hunt were naturally not limited to people, more important was first-hand data on the Sino-British negotiations that were taking place there.

Why Does This "Negotiations Building" Look So Sloppy

This Sino-British "Negotiations Building" is no other than No 3, Taijichang Toutiou. It is one of the guesthouses established by the Foreign Ministry of China in this Dongjiaomin Lane district (including those situated at 15, 23, 35, and 40, Dongjiaomin Lane). The objects served by these guesthouses are officials of the ministerial rank of various countries, although sometimes some high-ranking Chinese Communist Party officials also stay there. Many overseas reporters first expected these Sino-British negotiations to take place at the Diaoyutai guesthouse and hence all swarmed there to gather news; but they found nothing. They probably did not know that the Diaoyutai guesthouse is mainly used to receive foreign personages at the head-of-state level. The Chinese Government, which pays great attention to grade levels, would naturally not select that special guesthouse, situated at Nanshagou, Sanlihe, as the place for Sino-British negotiations at the present stage. Even though the Diaoyutai guesthouse is now also open to foreign guests, stiff room rentals are collected from them. The daily rental for a building runs from 4,000 to 9,000 yuan in RMB.

Mao Zedong's "Old Palace" Is Just Next Door

Why does No 3, Taijichang look so sloppy?

Because this guesthouse for a long time has not accommodated foreign guests. The multistoried building next door is Mao Zedong's "Field Palace." During the early 1970's, this palace was under busy construction, with indoor swimming pool, gymnasium, etc added. Because of this, No 3 guesthouse was no longer kept open regularly. They say that after the downfall of the gang of four, Peng Zhen lived here for a while. The interior of this house is not so bad; only its exterior walls have become dilapidated because of the passage of time; this makes it look shoddy accordingly.

Along the area where this guesthouse is situated there are still not a few abodes of military and political importance. For example, east of this is a big barracks of the air force, and Yao Guang [1202 1684], Britain's Keli-da [phonetic: Clyde?] No 1 opponent in the negotiations, is also a new resident in the nearby district.

Yao Guang Moves Close to "Negotiations Building"

After his transfer from the embassy in Paris, Yao Guang, who has been engaged in diplomatic work ever since the early 1950's, has been serving as a deputy foreign minister. Most of his whole family have been doing work that is connected to foreign affairs. His wife works at the Foreign Ministry; a son works with the CAAC; and a daughter works as a tour guide at the international travel service. The Yao family used to live in a Foreign Ministry residential dormitory building behind Jianguo Restaurant. Another senior diplomat, Wang Bingnan [3769 3521 0589] is a fellow resident in the same building. Not long ago, when Yao Guang moved, it was strange that, instead of this or that other place, he came exactly to this one close to the Sino-British "negotiations Building." Some laughed about this, saying: "It turns out that Mr Yao really moved according to plan."

The Real Opponent Lives in Zhongnanhai

When first meeting Yao Guang, the British may have assumed that this affable-looking negotiating opponent should be easy to deal with. Yao Guang indeed looks honest and sincere with his gentlemanly carriage. But, even if Yao Guang looks like a good-natured guy, he will not be of any one-sided "generous help" to the British. When the second round of the first Sino-British talk came to a close on 13 July Yao Guang's meticulous reading aloud of that written "Sino-British Joint Statement" before that surging, pressing a vast crowd of reporters outside of the guesthouse, with a halt almost after each word, makes it obvious to others that he is very prudent in his conduct and never liable to do anything out of order at the conference table. This is to say that, like other members of the Chinese delegation, Yao Guang is unlikely to deviate from the standpoint of the central authorities' principles and policies.

This is also to say that Britain's real number 1 opponent in the negotiations is in Zhongnanhai.

Can it be said that China's real number 1 opponent in the negotiations is not at 10 Downing Street?

Is Mao Zedong Li Hongzhang Number 2?

In Zhongnanhai, the one with the greatest, most decisive authority to speak on the Hong Kong question and Sino-British negotiations is Deng Xiaoping. The one who most firmly advocates the retrocession of Hong Kong is no other than this highest decisionmaker of the CPC.

In the past, the ordinary people of Beijing were never much concerned about the problem of the future of Hong Kong. But, after this round of the Sino-British talks, it has somehow become the hot subject of conversation among Beijing residents. They all know that Deng Xiaoping is the first leader to suggest and insist on the recovery of China's sovereignty over Hong Kong. Through various facets of contact and perception, I learned that most Beijing residents support the recovery of China's sovereignty over Hong Kong. But, over the question of who shall rule Hong Kong after sovereignty is recovered, people become divided into two "factions"; one "faction" thinks that sovereignty and the power to rule are inseparable, and hence advocates recovering sovereignty and administrative power simultaneously, while the other "faction" is of the opinion that this recovery of sovereignty and administrative power should best be achieved in two steps in order that, after sovereignty is recovered the British can be allowed to continue administering Hong Kong during the ensuing decades, with China recovering administrative power only when appropriate.

The "One-step Faction" and "Two-step Faction"

The two factions prevail everywhere, and they argue all the time. But those who advocate the recovery of sovereignty and administrative power to be achieved in two separate steps are believed to be in the "majority." Some parts of the conversation they have been carrying on with the "minority" are rather engaging. For instance:

"If our sovereignty and administrative power over Hong Kong are still not recovered by 1997, Deng Xiaoping is liable to incur the dirty label of Li Hongzhang Number 2!"

"If that is the case, Mao Zedong would have become Li Hongzhang Number 2 long ago!"

"Please don't forget that when Mao Zedong died there were still 21 years till 1977. Even if he had lived to 100, he still would not have reached 1977; hence this question of his becoming Li Hongzhang Number 2 never existed."

"Let the British Serve Our Four Modernizations"

"Then, according to your logic, Mao Zedong would have been at least a socialist Li Hongzhang, because socialism is predicated on 'not giving up one single inch

of territory'; yet, when it was possible for him to 'recover Hong Kong by a single telephone call,' he somehow failed to do so. Actually, the question is not one of whether or not he was a Li Hongzhang, but one of whether or not doing so would be of benefit to the overall situation; if, after the recovery of our sovereignty and administrative power over Hong Kong, we should suffer great losses economically, then why should we not let the British serve our four modernizations indirectly in Hong Kong?"

"Which Place on the Mainland Is As Prosperous As Hong Kong?"

The "two-step faction" has uttered not a few pithy statements. For example:

"In the past few years, it was only because of our correct line that we began to breathe a bit easier; but we are still 108,000 li away from modernization. Why should we be so eager to recover our sovereignty and administrative power over Hong Kong? This is not such a smart thing to do in terms of strategy."

"If, after Hong Kong is recovered, we cannot manage it well, then Hong Kong would become our burden. To feed 1 billion mainland people is easy; but to wish to feed 5 million Hong Kong people who are used to modern life, that is not going to be so simple. China may export its best things to Hong Kong, but the people of Hong Kong may regard many such national products as inferior' products. Thinking of this point alone should make us realize that the people of Hong Kong will not be easy to wait on."

"Which place on our mainland of 9.6 million square kilometers enjoys the Hong Kong style of prosperity? The appropriate opportunity for us to recover our sovereignty and administrative power over Hong Kong should be the time when our mainland prosperity catches up with Hong Kong prosperity."

"Who Is Willing to Become Peng Dehuai Number 2?"

A high-ranking cadre who has gone to Hong Kong said to me privately: "Hong Kong, that is really like a fabled land. And once one returns to the interior, any city, however big, seems somehow to have become the countryside. Some brag with impunity, saying that 'have we not run Shanghai pretty well?' But if Hong Kong is really turned into some place like today's Shanghai, then the people of Hong Kong will surely cry with real tears."

Although not a few old cadres try to be magnificently righteous and rhetorically utter their brave words about recovering Hong Kong, old cadres like this high-ranking cadre who would rather have "prosperity, Hong Kong style" than "prosperity, Shanghai style" are believed to be in not such a small number. These fully practical people all know that the people of Hong Kong are afraid of communists stretching their hands there, and they also sympathize with the situation in which the Hong Kong people find themselves. But they also feel that they are helpless. "The lesson of the Peng Dehuai incident has been too profound; who dares lightly to go against those above? Who is willing to become Peng Dehuai Number 2?"

"Who dares lightly to go against those above," this is the key to the problem.

China Is not Likely to Lower Its Posture

But an old cadre has another view: "Negotiations are struggle; if you are to make policy decisions, would you put up a low posture from the very beginning?"

This statement is believed to be not without reason. As to who is right and who is wrong, the future will naturally be the witness.

At present, China, on its part, surely is not putting up a low posture but showing great confidence.

Some high-ranking cadres in Beijing think that the stand of the British at first appears to be very tough; but there will be a process of changing from toughness to softness. "This does not evolve around man's will; perhaps the British can still not see this at present."

This is of course the voice of the "Minority." The "minority" are "optimists."

China, on its part, is not likely to change its stand. However, its policy will have great flexibility. Today, Beijing already worries about the slow loss of prosperity by Hong Kong; this is because Hong Kong remittances have been dropping and China's foreign exchange has thus sustained great losses. Therefore, Beijing has begun to adopt relevant measures so as to maintain Hong Kong's prosperity.

Two Views About "Appropriate Time"

About Zhao Ziyang's two "appropriate's" people have had much thought. The strange thing is that on this expression of "recovering our sovereignty over Hong Kong at the appropriate time" there have emerged also two views.

When he met with NPC delegates from Hong Kong and Macao and members of the CPPCC National Committee, Deng Xiaoping gave this interpretation: "The appropriate time will not go beyond 1997." Should this or that disorder occur in Hong Kong before '97, the "appropriate time" would become the equivalent to "any time." But high-ranking cadres in Beijing have heard about another view, that is, the time could remain "appropriate" beyond 1997. Of course, the authoritative nature of Deng Xiaoping's weighty words is not subject to doubt.

About the second "appropriate"--appropriate measures to maintain Hong Kong's prosperity, the interpretation has been even more colorful and far from being limited. My friend said: issuing the joint communique on the Sino-British negotiations is also one of the appropriate measures. Because a joint communique usually contains such words as "positive," "beneficial," which can sooth the minds of the Hong Kong people. Once people's minds are calm and stable, their prosperity will be immune from sabotage.

"However," my friend seriously said, "the so-called 'appropriate' will under ordinary circumstances usually not mean one side doing things with utter discretion unilaterally. Since the Hong Kong question involves both the Chinese and the British side, 'appropriate' cannot but be subject to appropriate constraints."

Chen Yun's Internal Speech and Xu Jiatun

"In coming to Hong Kong, Xu Jiantun [6079 1367 1470] openly declared as soon as he acceded to office that the reason for him to come to serve as the head of the branch XINHUA News Agency is for 'the cause of our reunification' and for Hong Kong's stability and prosperity. But Xu Jiatun's past work had nothing to do with Hong Kong affairs, how would he..."

"What is interesting is so precisely because of this," my friend interrupted me. "It is said that in an internal speech Chen Yun suggested that the person to be sent to Hong Kong to succeed Wang Kuang's [3769 0562] office must be someone who has no particular relationship or connection with Hong Kong's various personages and forces, including our own various departments. If Chen Yun really said this, then it shows that he is familiar with Hong Kong's situation and very smart. And Xu Jiatun is the very person to fit such kind of conditions."

Indeed, Hong Kong's interpersonal situations are very complex; even among personnel on the Communist Chinese side, there is no lack of those who seek to differentiate their respective mountain tops and maintain their parochial views. It is said that the CPC Central Committee feels very troubled by this. Xu Jiantun, who has the status of a member of the Central Committee and who has no entangling relationships with the various circles in Hong Kong whatsoever, is naturally better equipped to implement the central policies and promote the work in Hong Kong than those cadres who may be experienced in external affairs but who somehow have "a network of connections" in Hong Kong. The so-called "work" here naturally is inseparable from the preparatory task of recovering China's sovereignty over Hong Kong.

Deng's Health and Hong Kong's Future

Deng Xiaoping has openly declared that from now on work about overseas Chinese will be handled by Li Ziannian and Zhao Ziyang. But, on the question of Hong Kong's future, the one who has the ultimate power of decision is Deng Xiaoping. I like letting facts speak for themselves more than I do guessing; but, on the question of Hong Kong's future, two points cannot but be proffered to allow my readers to make some appraisal:

First, if during the next 14 years Deng Xiaoping should unfortunately follow the law of nature by going to "see Marx" would that then affect the future of Hong Kong? Would that subject the results of Sino-British negotiations to some modification?

Second, the present economic state and its prospects in China are far better than those of the past 30 years and no one knows how many times better than

those of the cultural revolution period; but hidden worries are not necessarily absent, and it remains doubtful as to whether continued strides can be taken or greater results achieved. If, after some years, the mainland's economic situation turns out to be less desirable than had been expected and the degree of its prosperity falls short of that of Hong Kong, then, will the future of Hong Kong become affected?

I hope China's economy can find a healthy path of continued development and face no great roundabout passages or setbacks in the next 10 years. More importantly, I hope China can substitute a rule of law for the rule of man and democracy for centralism, as well as assure the continued opening to the outside world in its economy with such an opening in its politics, in order to greatly improve both the people's material life and spiritual life. Then, the image of the CPC in the minds of the Hong Kong people will no longer be fearsome but lovely; thus, 1997 will be to the Hong Kong people no longer a disaster but a blessing.

I hope his excellency Deng would live long and, at the same time, he would, as he did from the end of 1978 to the beginning of 1979, i.e., around the time of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, continue to emancipate people's thinking, seek truth from facts, courageously change all institutions that hamper China's progress, wealth, strength and prosperity, courageously modify those policies and views of Mao Zedong as well as himself of the past that were divorced from reality (in the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," has the author not criticized himself on several occasions?), and welcome 1997 with the authentic attitude of a liberal, a thorough reformist, and a daring open door advocate.

I really hope this is to be the case; I really hope so.

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HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

LATEST CONTROVERSIAL WRITINGS, MOVIES DISCUSSED

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 70, Aug 83 p 11

[Article by Shao Ming [6730 2494]: "Mr Left Criticizes 'KULIEN [UNREQUITED LOVE]' Number 2"]

[Text] In literary circles in China, there are being circulated rumors about an "'Unrequited Love' Number 2."

What is this "unrequited Love' Number 2"? There are, in fact, two so-called "Number 2" according to these rumors: one is a new work entitled "Wuwang Jinge Yuewang Jian" [King of Wu's Gold Spear and King of Yue's Sword] by Bai Hua [4101 2901] (Bai Hua again!), and the other is REN DAO ZHONGNIAN [When One Reaches Middle Age] by authoress Chen Rong [6186 1369].

About [Wuwang Jinge Yuewang Jian," no writings of a critical nature have yet appeared in the press up to this moment; but in other than open forums there have already been people expressing reproach. Available information indicates that open criticism may yet be aired, with a possible label of offense attached to it in terms of satirizing the present on the pretext of the past, in the style of "'Unrequited Love' Number 2."

As for the movie of the same title rewritten from Chen Rong's medium-length novel "Ren Dao Zhongnian," there are, after some wrangling, finally some people signaling a start by airing their open criticism, alleging that this film "harbors a serious problem on many important political principles and has engendered very bad social effects," and that hence it "represents a different approach but leads to similar consequences compared to 'Unrequited Love.'"

Since its publication in 1979, the novel "Ren Dao Zhongnian" has aroused a strong echo amongst its readers, especially the vast ranks of the intellectuals. People have been shedding their tears for their own miseries much as they do because Lu Wenting [7120 2429 1250] has shed hers. This work has broken through the prejudice Mao Zedong succeeded in spreading for several decades about the intellectuals; it speaks the mind of hundreds and thousands of intellectuals. Not only do middle-aged intellectuals feel very close, but so do old intellectuals and young ones. Undoubtedly, no matter from what angle, people cannot but acknowledge that this is a realistic work which profoundly reflects the true situation with the intellectuals.

It is precisely because of this that the novel is put on the silver screen. But those gentlemen wearing spectacles of the extreme "Left" became somehow frightened and as early as 2 years ago they already began crying frantically: "Ren Dao Zhongnian" is "putting pressure on the party"; it "is a second 'Unrequited Love.'" Hence, the filming process was stopped. However, even louder voices began also to be heard: "We should make this film! This is a fine work that reflects objective reality!" This way, the making of this film went through its up-and-down, and up-again course of repeated wrangling.

But the film "Ren Dao Zhongnian" was eventually made. After its showing across the country, all at home and abroad, above and below, have given their unanimous praise. It was given the 1982 Culture Ministry Outstanding Film Award, the China Cinema Association Golden Rooster Award, and the Hundred-flower Award by DAZHONG DIANYING [Popular Cinema]. Pan Hong [3382 5725], who played Lu Wenting, was also given the Best Player award.

With respect to such a film, no problem should probably arise. Yet facts are to the contrary. Under the slogan of "Opposition to Liberalization," "people have aired various opinions with no affirmative agreement whatsoever" about "whether or not" this is a good film. The June issue of this year's WENYI BAO [Journal of Literature] has published an article by Xu Chunqiao [6079 2504 2884] entitled "A Film with Serious Flaws," which negates "Ren Dao Zhongnian" as a whole, complaining "why the author did not arrange them (Lu Wenting and her husband) in the role of struggling against their fate and against difficulties in such and such a way but, instead, always let them vacillate and feel troubled in the face of perplexity and bafflement." About Lu Wenting's being active, responsible and diligent at her work, Xu Chunqiao also expresses dissatisfaction because, according to him, "carrying on that way is but an approach of proceeding from a physician's humanist duty, which merely suggests the following of an ordinary person's conscience"; this is supposed to have "seriously weakened the image of this generation of middle-aged intellectuals as well as the meaning of Lu Wenting as a symbol." Xu Chunqiao also holds that "the reality in 'Ren Dao Zhongnian' is merely a reality of life and not an artistic reality; in some cases, it even runs counter to the reality of life."

The characters Xu Chunqiao hates in a most excruciating way are Liu Xueyao [0491 1331 1031] and his wife; they "renege on their own country and people," and "entrust their own happiness and their hope of liberation from the unfair treatment they encountered in their own country to Canada, a capitalist country." Xu Chunqiao's final conclusion is: "The film weakens the image of the party, weakens the image of socialism, and gives rise to a feeling of dissatisfaction toward reality in society."

Luckily, insofar as such Mr Left's stuff is concerned, those who blindly subscribe to it are now rare. In the July issue of WENYI BAO there is already an article which refutes Xu Chunqiao and vindicates "Ren Dao Zhongnian."

The appearance of Xu Chunqiao's article is by no means accidental; it is an inevitable sequence of the CPC's "Opposition to Liberalization" slogan. It looks like Xu Chunqiao Number 2, Number 3 and Number 4 will still follow suit. 9255

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OCT 4, 1983